Kanokupolu, Nuku, and Niukapu are called the Ulutolu (Three-heads). 613 (See p. 102.) The name Haa Latu Hifo is said to refer to the fact that the first Tui Kanokupolu and his descendants went up in rank, while his "brothers" Nuku and Niukapu and their descendants went down in rank. Literally Haa Latu Hifo means Lineage of Descending Chiefs. Nuku is the head of the Haa Latu Hifo, as he is the "older brother." The Tamaha's genealogies mention the Haa Siulangapo along with the Haa Latu Hifo and state that the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga is the ancestor of both. I learned nothing further of the former lineage.

HAA HAVEA

The ancestor of the Haa Havea was Mataeletuapiko, the third Tui Kanokupolu. The modern chiefs who belong to this lineage are Maafu Tukuiaulahi, [551] Lavaka, Fielakepa, Fohe, Tui Vakano, Vaea, and Momotu. The Maafu is [622] ranking member. Momotu is claimed also by the Haa Ngata Motua, for it is said of the present holder of the title that his father was of the Haa Ngata Motua and his mother of the Haa Havea. Although I do not know the [622] actual circumstances, it nevertheless is likely that failure of the patrilineal line forced the selection of an individual of the matrilineal line for the title: hence the conflict in the affiliations of the present holder of the title. The title anciently belonged to the Haa Havea.

HAA NGATA TUPU

The ancestor of Haa Ngata Tupu was Mataelehaamea, the fourth Tui Kanokupolu. This is the youngest of all of the great modern lineages. It embraces the Ulukalala chiefs of Vavau, of whom Mariner's patron Finau was one. Fakailoatonga also belongs to this lineage. Ulukalala is the head. Ancestors of this lineage, according to the Tamaha's genealogies are Tuituiohu (son of Mataelehaamea), Tupoutoa (son of Mataelehaamea), Tuioemoana (son of Alapuku, son of Tupoutoa), and Kapetaua (son of Tuioemoana). Tolo (whom I have not identified) is also of this lineage. [551]

The Haa Ngata Tupu did not join the kava circle, but it was their duty [276] to guard the kava making for the Tui Kanokupolu. Ulukalala was not present [574] in the kava circle at the appointment ceremony of the present Tui Kanokupolu Charlotte. [643]

HAA MALIEPO

The great matapule Lauaki heads the Haa Maliepo, which is of traditional celestial origin. The first Lauaki, or Maliepo as he was called, descended from the sky with Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga. Among his duties

heads of subdivisions or families (as the informant actually called them). 613
The two family heads in each group are (1) Kamoto and Uhi, in Tongatabu; (2) Kofe and Afeaki, in Haapai; (3) Fotu and Afu Haa Laufuli, in Vavau; (4) Sika and Kaufarga, in Niuatoputapu; (5) Masila and Haufano, in Niuafoou; (6) and Elili and Fakahenga in Uvea. Motuapuaka, of Tongatabu is regarded as the head of the entire *haa,* in spite of the fact that Kamoto and Uhi are said to be his superiors in rank. The ascendancy of Motuapuaka himself is attributed to the influence of the Tui Kanokupolu chiefs. The relationship of the two heads in each group was not ascertained, nor was their relationship to Motuapuaka himself. The Motuapuaka who was living in 1921 was senile and useless as an informant.

The Haa Motuapuaka held the octopus (*feke*) in reverence, as the in- 825
carnation of their god. All members of the Haa Motuapuaka trace their 776
descent to Molofaha, a Samoan man.

The very widespread distribution of the Haa Motuapuaka is undoubtedly deliberate. Motuapuaka is one of the two chief ceremonial attendants of the Tui Kanokupolu. The heads of families in each island group function in Motuapuaka's place when the Tui Kanokupolu visits these groups and Motuapuaka himself is not in attendance. The questions suggest themselves as to whether these men are really of the same blood as Motuapuaka, and whether, in order to meet ceremonial requirements, individuals of other blood have not been arbitrarily assigned to the Haa Motuapuaka.

LINEAGES IN SPEECH PRELUDES

Before a speaker settles down to the matter which causes him to address 195
an assemblage of chiefs he must enumerate the various great chiefs and 537
lineages, saying, "Tapu to so-and-so, and tapu to so-and-so," etc. These per- 576
sonages are said to be mentioned in order of rank, but the recorded speeches 622
do not altogether bear this out, or perhaps the relative rank of different chiefs 613
has varied, just as the Tui Tonga and Tui Haa Takalaua have gone into total
eclipse. In fact there are two great preludes (*fakataputapu*), one obsolete 643
and connected with the Tui Tonga and his kava circle, the other connected with the Tui Haa Takalaua or Tui Kanokupolu and his kava circle. The first is called the prelude of the Kauhalauta (Inland-side-of-the-road), the second is called the prelude of the Kauhalalalo (Shore-side-of-the-road), as these two great royal houses are metaphorically called. Nowadays it is customary to mention the Deity first, then the King and great chiefs. After completing the enumeration the speaker says, "And allow me to speak."

Two examples of preludes for speeches at the Tui Tonga's kava circle 195
were recorded. One has been published (15, p. 32), the other is given 537
below. These differ considerably from one another, a fact open to two in- 574
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terpretations. Either there was considerable variation, or the recorders have 195
erred, perhaps because of the non-use of, and lack of familiarity with, the 537
Tui Tonga prelude. I have translated the word *hau* (literally, ruling prince) 574
as Tui Kanokupolu in the following prelude. It applies also to the Tui 643 576
Haa Takalaua.

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1. Tapu moe Takafalu	Tapu to the Tui Tonga, literally Back of the Chief. [The back is mentioned because the king is too sacred to be named in person.] 195 537 613
2. Pea tapu moe Tui Faleua	And tapu to the Tui Pelehake. 622 539
3. Pea tapu mo Haa Takalaua	And tapu to the Tui Haa Takalaua [and presumably the chiefs of the lineage Haa Takalaua]. 576 [643]
4. Pea tapu mo Haa Uluakimata	And tapu to the Tamaha [according to an informant] and presumably chiefs of the Haa Uluakimata.
5. Pea tapu moe Sinae eiki moe Sinae	And tapu to the Sinae of high rank and the other Sinae.
6. Pea tapu mo Fale Fisi	And tapu to the chiefs of the lineage Fale Fisi.
7. Pea tapu moe huhu Eiki	And tapu to the chiefs in general. [The informant Tapueluelu said *huhu Eiki* applied to the Tui Tonga. The word *huhu* means "the breasts" and "to suck," suggesting that women of high rank may be meant.]
8. Pea tapu mo Faoamanafa	And tapu to Faoamanafa. [One informant suggested that this referred to a chief Faoa of Hihifo district, Tongatabu, but this seems to me to be unlikely.]
9. Pea tapu moe alofi tapu	And tapu to the chiefs in the sacred kava circle.
10. Pea tapu moe toua tapu	And tapu to the chiefs sitting behind the kava bowl.
11. Pea tapu moe Vaeamatoka Kae ata keu lea Ma tafi tonga sahoeu Pea o ua e popo uli e alo ni	And tapu to Vaeamatoka. Allow me to speak. May the southern sky be clear. And ward off filthy rottenness from the sons of chiefs [?].

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Three speech preludes for use in the kava circles of the Tui Haa Taka- 195
laua and Tui Kanokupolu have been recorded. One has been published 537
(15, p. 32). Although they differ in detail they are all alike in relegating 576
the Tui Tonga to oblivion and his kin to subordinate rank in the list of
chiefs. The published prelude mentions the Tui Haa Takalaua first, the Tui
Kanokupolu (now the supreme ruler) third.

Only matapules use the full prelude. A high chief mentions only two or 195
three chiefs and lineages and then asks the king's matapule, Maliepo and 537
Molofaha, to finish for him. Then he goes on with his speech. This takes 622
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place at a kava ring, as kava drinking forms a part of all meetings of chiefs, 195
no matter what the business. 537

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According to the informant Tapueluelu there are certain chiefs who [276]
speak, certain who do not. Maatu, Fotofili, Vaea, Ata, Vahai, Ulukalala, [576]
Niukapu, and Nuku are chiefs who do not speak. Chiefs who speak are Tui Haa Teiho, Tui Haa Ngana, and Malupo. Tapueluelu thinks that this is a survival of old status in which the speaking chiefs were higher than those not allowed to speak.

The following prelude was found among the papers of the late Tafolo, a 574
chief of the Sinae ki Mua or Tui Tonga lineage. 195
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[613]

1. Tapu mo hotau Eiki	Tapu to our Lord [presumably the Deity].
2. Tapu mo hotau Ha'a Moheofo	Tapu to our Haa Moheofo [Tui Kanokupolu].
3. Tapu mo hotau Tu'i Ha'a Mo'unga	Tapu to our Tui Haa Mounga [Tui Kanokupolu].
4. Tapu mo hotau Ha'a Ngata mo Ha'a Ngata	Tapu to our Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Ngata Tupu.
5. Tapu moe Sina'e ki Mua mo Sina'e ki Mui	Tapu to the first Sinae and the last Sinae.
6. Tapu mo Ha'a Latu Hifo	Tapu to the Haa Latu Hifo.
7. Tapu mo Ha'a Havea	Tapu to the Haa Havea.
8. Tapu mo Ha'a Ma'afu	Tapu to the Haa Maafu.
9. Tapu mo Ha'a Vaea	Tapu to the Haa Vaea.
10. Tapu mo Kano Loto'a 'oe Hau (aia ko Ha'a Ngana mo Ha'a Ngana mo Ha'a Teiho kae uma'a Afitu mo Lakepa).	Tapu to the chiefs who live in the enclosure of the Tui Kanokupolu (namely Tui Haa Ngana, Malupo, Tui Haa Teiho, and likewise Tui Afitu and Tui Lakepa).
11. Tapu mo Maliepo mo Molofaha	Tapu to Maliepo and Molofaha [Lauaki and Motuapuaka, matapule of the king].
12. Tapu mo Fokololo 'oe Hau	Tapu to Fokololo [navigators] of the Tui Kanokupolu.
13. Tapu mo moha ngaahi haa fa'ahinga 'oku totonu ke kau ki ai 'ae tala 'oe fakatapu na'e fai 'ehe matua ni.	Tapu to any Haa or Faahinga which is not mentioned here but has a right to be mentioned in the prelude the forefathers gave.

Apparently the following lines were sometimes added:

1a. Tapu mo Hou'eiki fofonga kui	Tapu to the heads of the chiefs
2a. Tapu mo Hou'eiki houtamaki	Tapu to the imperious chiefs [refers to Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Ngata Tupu who see to keeping order in the kava circle and whip people who do not obey]
3a. Tapu moe Tu'i Hoi	Tapu to the Tui Hoi

The following prelude is from the manuscripts of Maatu, Lord of Niuatoputapu Island. It is modern, for the Deity is mentioned first:

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

1.	Tapu moe 'Afio ae Taehamai	Tapu to His Majesty the Invisible (the Deity).	195
2.	Tapu mo Haa Moheofo	Tapu to the Haa Moheofo (Tui Kanokupolu).	537 622
3.	Tapu mo Tui Haa Mo'unga 'oku afio (ai ihe me'afaka'eiki)	Tapu to the Tui Haa Mounga who is there (when a funeral is on). [Tui Haa Mounga is the Tui Kanokupolu].	574 539 576
4.	Tapu moe feitu'u alofi moe feitu'u alofi	Tapu to all the chiefs of both sides of the kava ring.	
5.	Tapu moe Fasitapu	Tapu to the bend of the kava ring [where Veehala sits].	
6.	Tapu moe Tangata o Tu'i Tonga oku fio he 'alofi oe Hau	Tapu to the men of the Tui Tonga who are in the kava circle of the Tui Kanokupolu.	
7.	Tapu moe tou'a Eiki	Tapu to the chiefs in the *toua* (behind the kava bowl). [Veehala, Vahai, and Ata are the only strictly Haa Ngata Motua chiefs in the *alofi* or kava circle. Vahai sits in the *alofi* as he is really from Haa Latu Hifo. In the kava circle Vahai belongs to Haa Latu Hifo, in ordinary life he counts now as Haa Ngata Motua. 7 refers to the chiefs not in the circle but in the *toua*, the space behind the bowl.]	
8.	Tapu mo Fale Fisi	Tapu to the lineage Fale Fisi.	
9.	Tapu moe Sina'e ki Mu'a moe Sina'e ki Mui.	Tapu to the First Sinae and Last Sinae.	
10.	Tapu mo Haa Ngata mo Haa Ngata	Tapu to the Haa Ngata (Motua) and the Haa Ngata (Tupu)	
11.	Tapu mo Haa Latu Hifo	Tapu to the Haa Latu Hifo	
12.	Tapu mo Haa Havea Lahi	Tapu to the great Haa Havea	
13.	Tapu mo Haa Ma'afu	Tapu to the Haa Ma'afu	
14.	Tapu mo Haa Vaea	Tapu to the Haa Vaea	
15.	Tapu moe kanoloto'a oe Hau (aia ko Haa Ngana mo Haa Ngana, Haa Teiho, kae 'uma'a 'a Afitu mo Lakepa).	Tapu to those within the enclosure of the Tui Kanokupolu (that is Tui Haa Ngana, Malupo, Tui Haa Teiho, and also Tui Afitu and Tui Lakepa). [Formerly *kanolotoa* referred to the Tui Tonga only, i. e., the chiefs enumerated lived with the Tui Tonga, not the Tui Kanokupolu. The expression is figurative in a measure and refers to their close attachment to the Tui Kanokupolu, rather than to their actually living with him.]	
16.	Tapu mo Maliepo mo Molofaha	Tapu to Maliepo and Molofaha.	
17.	Tapu mo Fokololo oe Hau	Tapu to the navigators of the Tui Kanokupolu.	
18.	Tapu moe ngaahi faahinga oku kau kiai ae tala'a.	Tapu to the groups of those already enumerated.	

30. With king 30 began a series of marriages with the daughters of the great houses 644
of the Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Kanokupolu. King 30 married the daughter of 643
the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua (she was also the sister of the first Tui Kanokupolu);
king 31 married the daughter of the seventh Tui Haa Takalaua; king 32 the daughter 581
of the eighth. King 33 neglected both the daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of 173
the Tui Kanokupolu and married the daughter of the chief of Moungaone Island, Haapai. 175
Kings 34 to 36, 38, and 39 each married a daughter of a Tui Kanokupolu. In addition
king 35 married a granddaughter of one; she was the mother of Pau, the Tui Tonga of
Cook's time.

It would appear that the importance of the Tui Haa Takalaua decreased
so after the eighth one that their daughters were no longer sought as great
royal wives by the Tui Tonga. Additional marriages to daughters of the 644
Tui Kanokupolu who did not become great royal wives are: Fakanaanaa to 643
Tuutongahunuhunu (daughter of Atamataila), Tui Pulotu II to Tui Loka- 581
mana (daughter of Vuna), Pau to Kongakava (daughter of Maealiuaki), [551]
Fuanunuiava to Tupoufalemei (daughter of Tui Halafatai), and Fuanunuiava to Palulongoteme (daugnter of Mulikihaamea).

The harem of the Tui Tonga was extensive, for usually each regularly 595
espoused wife of high rank brought supplementary wives (*fokonofo*) or 644
concubines to her husband. Often a younger sister or other relative was a *fokonofo*.

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE TUI TONGA

The successor to the Tui Tonga was his son born of the great royal wife, 643
a woman who had been properly espoused to him, and who was usually the daughter of a great chief, but not necessarily of the Tui Haa Takalaua or of the Tui Kanokupolu. Should there be more than one wife whose children were eligible, the succession went to the first born son, and after him to his younger half brother, not to his son. The succession of Kauulufonua II after Puipuifatu and of Maulupekotofa after Pau are examples of this fraternal succession.

Although the blood of the heir-apparent preordained him as the future
ruler of the country, he did not automatically become king upon the death
of his father. The actual installation in office seems to take place upon the [574]
calling of the new title by the person officiating as announcer at the kava-drinking ceremony, a method of installation followed for all title holders in Tonga. Laufilitonga, although the legitimate heir, did not succeed to office as thirty-ninth Tui Tonga for seventeen years after the death of his father, and came to the throne only through installation at the proper assemblage of high chiefs. However, Samoan tradition says that Kauulufonua I named his son, Puipuifatu, as his successor (36, vol. 1, p. 304). Actually, though, another king, Vakafuhu intervened.

The Tui Haa Takalaua seems to have been the chief who anciently convened the assemblage for the appointment of the Tui Tonga, calling together the Tui Kanokupolu, the *sinae* (chiefs of the Tui Tonga's family or court), 643 the other great chiefs, and the Falefa ministers. Though I was told that if there were no heir, the Tui Haa Takalaua would be elevated to the office of Tui Tonga and a new Tui Haa Takalaua appointed, I know of no instance of this. The statement nevertheless bears out what was said by the Prince Consort Tungi concerning the modern monarchy, that if heir after heir to the throne died a new heir would continue to be sought in lower and lower ranks, blood relationship being of course the guiding factor, until ultimately the choice might come to a commoner. This illustrates that rank in Tonga [565] is relative, not absolute.

Apparently the ministers of the Tui Tonga, who were called the Falefa, 643 at times had a hand in the selection of the new Tui Tonga. According to a 644 reliable Vavau informant the four Falefa went to the island of Ofolanga, to bring back the prince Fakanaanaa and to elevate him to the kingship. With the death of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga in 1865, the Falefa took to 643 the Tui Kanokupolu George I Tupou, at his residence, a kava root and a 276 kava bowl, and made kava ceremonially for him as the new Tui Tonga. 574 644 This simple ceremony, called *fulitaunga*, consisted of mixing the kava for 643 him with the bowl turned so that the cord for suspending it was on the 276 side towards him. (This cord hangs from a perforated projection on one 415 side of the circular kava bowl, the word *fulitaunga* referring to this feature.) 574 In making kava for the Tui Tonga or Tamaha, the bowl was always 643 put in this position, while for the Tui Kanokupolu or chiefs of lower rank 574 it was not. Hence the cord on the side of the bowl facing George I constituted official notice of his forthcoming elevation to the kingship. This [644] action of the Falefa was later ratified at an assembly of the chiefs of the kingdom at Vavau.

According to the aged informant Tamale, chief of Niutoua, Tongatabu, 643 one fertile cause for the murder of the Tui Tonga was the ambition of 687 scheming great chiefs who desired the high office for themselves or relatives. Certain of the Falefa would be induced to assassinate him. The fact that [644] they were foreigners or descendants of foreigners, rendered them safe from the curse which would fall upon a native Tongan for such a deed. If the 643 above information is correct it seems likely that the father-son succession 644 to the throne was interrupted more frequently than tradition indicates. The part played by the Falefa in the succession to the throne was evidently of a sinister nature at times. In the elevation of Fakanaanaa and George I Tupou to the high office of Tui Tonga, the Falefa functioned in a more beneficent light.

Cook and other writers speak of Fatafehi as the family name of the 643 Tui Tonga, but I see no similarity to our family names. The genealogies 551 reveal a very considerable number of the Tui Tonga's children who never

When a Tamaha was to be appointed, the Tui Kanokupolu came and 644
prepared an oven of food and himself carried it to the Tui Haa Takalaua. 643
Together they carried the food to the Tui Tonga, probably in the fictitious
fashion described by Collocott (15, p. 43). The three chiefs then went to
the prospective Tamaha. Meanwhile all of the chiefs of the kingdom had [622]
assembled at the call of the Tui Haa Takalaua. The agreement was reached
beforehand between the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa Takalaua as to who
was to be the new Tamaha, although birth had largely preordained this.
As with every other bestowal of title in Tonga, the calling of the Tamaha's [574]
new title in the kava circle constituted inauguration in office. Informants
were of the opinion that the Tamaha was appointed at maturity.

The derivation of the word *tamaha* was given by one informant as *tama* 644
(child), *ha* (to appear); by another as *tama* (child), *ha* (above, in the 192
sense of rank), by another as *tama* (child), *ha* (sacred, cf. Samoan *sa*).
The Tamaha was not regarded as the incarnation of a divinity. [776]

In travelling, the Tamaha was usually carried in a palanquin; sometimes 644
she walked. When she passed, people seated themselves with folded hands [493]
and bowed head. Her uncle, the male Tui Tonga, brought his offerings and [481]
sat down before her with all humility. Sick people came to her for cure [576]
(23, p. 145). [643]

[755]
One of the chief residences of the Tamaha was the island of Tungua,
Haapai. It is one of the seats of the Tui Haa Teiho. When boats passed in [576]
front of the Tamaha's house which was near the beach, the paddlers got
overboard and swam with the boat until beyond the dwelling. This custom
is analogous to the modern one of dismounting from a horse when passing
the Queen's residence.

A series of special words used for the Tamaha, the Female Tui Tonga, [128]
and the male Tui Tonga are on page 119.

THE TUI HAA TAKALAUA

The great chiefly houses of the Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Kano- 613
kupolu are nothing more than collateral branches of the dynasty of Tui 643
Tonga which began with Ahoeitu. The first Tui Haa Takalaua was a younger
brother of a Tui Tonga and the first Tui Kanokupolu was a younger brother
of a Tui Haa Takalaua. Hence the stress which so many writers lay upon
the spiritual and the temporal lines of rulers in Tonga should be understood
to refer to difference of function and degree of chiefliness and sanctity only,
not difference of origin, for both lines claim the same semi-divine ancestor,
Ahoeitu. Besides this community of origin, the three great chiefly houses [581]
of Tonga were thoroughly linked by marriage.

The office of Tui Haa Takalaua is reputed to have been founded by the

I have but little information as to the installation (*fakanofo*) of the Tui Kanokupolu. The place of installation (*fakanofo anga*) seems anciently to have been at Kanokupolu, Tongatabu Island, where a special tree served as the back rest of the new appointee. The crux of the appointment ceremony is the serving of the kava to the new incumbent, for it is then that his new name or title is publicly spoken. When the kava is ready the matapule Motuapuaka calls: "Omi ia ki he ni maa Tupou!" (Bring it here for Tupou!) This is unlike the procedure in the ordinary kava ceremony. 643 [276] [553] [574]

West (62, pp. 58, 59) describes the appointment of the Tui Kanokupolu George I as follows:

> The day appointed was the 4th of December, 1845; and, accordingly, the chiefs from various parts of Tonga, Haabai, and Vavau, assembled in state. A few of the Tonga chiefs were still Heathens. Among these were Nuku, Maafu, Tubou-leva, Tugi, and several others; but all parties appeared to approve heartily of the measure. The company was select. None were allowed to go near, in order to stare, or to walk about. To prevent such conduct, a Fijian, dressed, and blackened, according to the custom of his country, walked to and fro as the guard of the ceremony, armed with club and spear. [See account of installation of the present Tui Kanokupolu in 1918, page 94.] The day was very fine, and the gathering of the noted politicians and warriors of the land, under the magnificent trees, which have stood for ages on the sward of Bagai, presented a most interesting sight. [771]
>
> The ceremony consisted simply in publicly calling out the future official title of the king, in a *kava*-meeting; that is to say, a meeting where a preparation of kava-root is diluted and drunk by the persons assembled, according to certain well-established rules of etiquette and precedence. [574] [276]
>
> Two chiefs sat, one on either side of the king elect. These were two of the *matuas*, or "fathers" of the land. Their office was to relieve the king, and to act on his behalf. The names of the officiating chiefs were Motua-buaka and Lauaki. The others ranged themselves on either side, in order of rank, and forming a large circle, outside of which, and in front of the king, the bulk of the commoners were seated. The kava being prepared, several chiefs addressed the assembly, before it was served out. Afterwards Motua-buaka delivered an oration explaining the important object of their assembling. The king then addressed them also. Immediately he had finished, his kava was poured into a dish; and then Motua-buaka proclaimed aloud that that was the kava of Taliai-Tubou Tuikanokubolu. 643 622

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE PRESENT TUI KANOKUPOLU

The present Tui Kanokupolu and the sole ruler of Tonga is Charlotte Mafileo Veiongo. She is the second woman to bear the title, the first being the luckless Tupoumoheofo. As the head of the constitutional government of Tonga, Charlotte was proclaimed queen within a few hours after the death of her father, George II, but her appointment to the office of Tui Kanokupolu did not take place until October 9, 1918, following a six months' period of mourning. The following description is abstracted from the account of an anonymous eye witness (49): 643 [765]

643 facing the open space in front of the canopy. And so they quietly awaited the approach of their young Queen.

Her Majesty, having seated herself on the dais, the attendants fell in behind and spread the long mat in a fan-shaped manner at the back of the Royal Chair.

643 533 For a few minutes there was a stillness over all, but presently was heard a chanting of many voices, and a large party of mat-clad natives appeared at the entrance to the ground. In four sections, and chanting the while, they came slowly towards where the Queen sat in state. Close by stood the herald in statue-like fashion, and so he remained until the whole party had paid their respects and had retired.

Then came a party with an offering in the form of a large root of kava. This, together with other gifts of food, was placed on the ground not many yards from the canopy.

643 574 276 Meanwhile the body of singers had retired and become seated in the centre of the ground, and preparations were made for the making of kava—the beverage peculiar to Polynesia and without which no native ceremony is complete.

When the whole party had become seated, there was observed sitting at the back of and at some distance from the kava party, a lonely figure—that of Uiliami Tugi, the Prince Consort. According to Tongan custom it would be wrong for such a near relation, no matter how great a chief, to be sitting in the superior circle—which is the name given to the circle of chiefs seated on either side of the Queen—and so the Prince Consort must sit alone and quite apart from the inner and outer circles. The outer circle is where the beverage is prepared. . . .

643 There was a great deal of formality in the matter of the distribution of the kava and much time was taken up in this direction, but after the ceremony had been fully observed, attention was given to the food offering. The herald, who up till this time had been a silent observer of the proceedings, now became a prominent figure, and with uplifted spear and with streamers flying he warily approached the line of foodstuffs and selecting a certain dainty morsel—a well-cooked young suckling pig—he made good aim and let fly the spear which hit truly the intended mark, the pig's liver. Springing forward he gently lifted on the point of the spear the offering of the day and presented it to the Queen. From thence on the food was distributed amongst the high chiefs.

643 537 Way was now made for the orators, and they came and delivered themselves of speeches, the keynote of which was their acknowledgment of the right of Tu'i Salote to rule over the Tongan people, and they expressed their loyalty to their ruler. Other addresses appropriate to the occasion were also delivered, and the proceedings terminated with the retirement of the Queen to the Palace.

643 The following notes, derived chiefly from Collocott, supplement the above account.

[622] Before the appointment the candidate in the presence of the assembled chiefs was instructed by Ata and Veehala in such matters as the stewardship of the country. This was done in accordance with traditional procedure. As required by tradition the clownish herald at the *fakanofo* ceremony belonged to the family of the chief Tui Vakano of Nukunuku, Tongatabu, or to the family of Tahifisi (32).

Ulukalala's seat is not in the kava ring (*alofi*); his place is behind the general assemblage (*toua*). He was not present, so his kava was poured on the ground at the spot where he should have been. See figure 1 for seating arrangement on this occasion.

643 276 574 For the making of the kava many people brought water in buckets, only a little in each bucket. The idea was to show the chiefly power (*faka'ei'eiki*) of the Tui Kanokupolu by the large number of the water carriers and their alacrity.

[533] [539] In dragging the kava to the *fakanofo* kava circle the Hihifo people sang the following work songs (*tauaalo*).

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

643
574
276

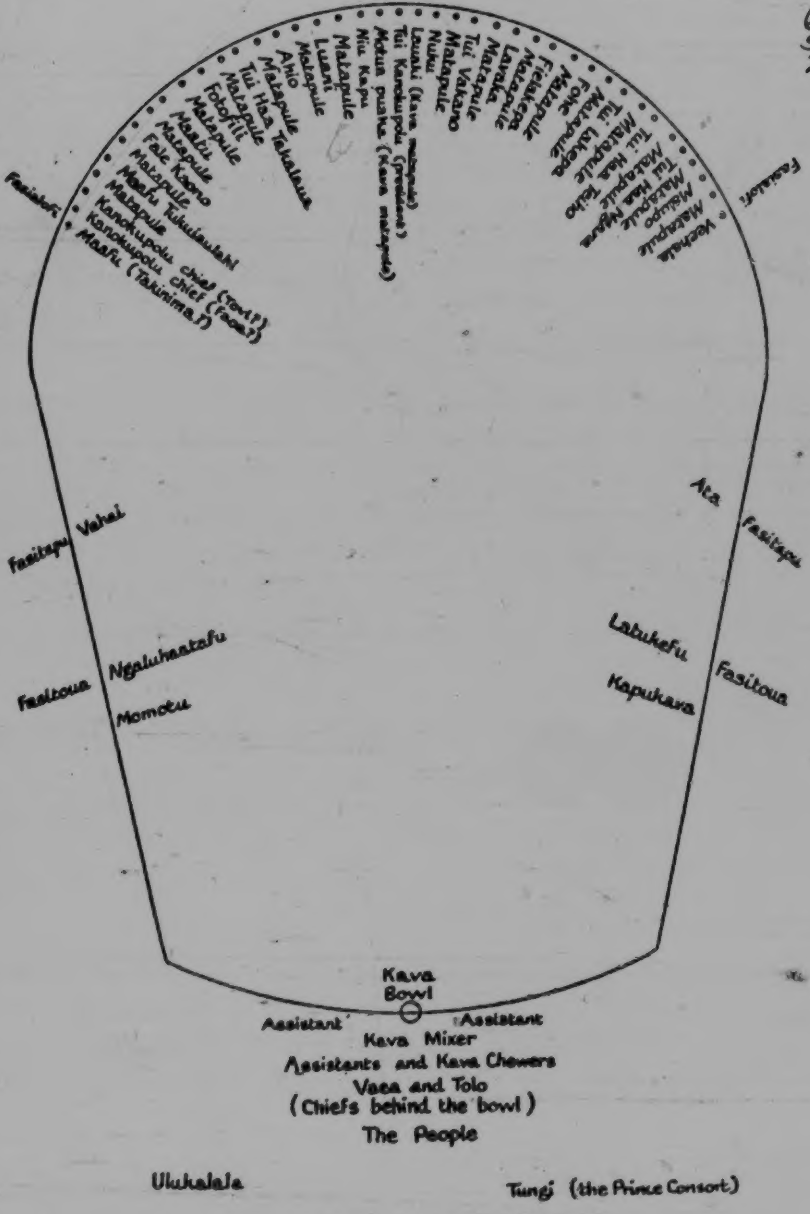
Fasiatofi
Maafu (Takinima?)
Kanokupolu chief (Faoa?)
Kanokupolu chief (Tovi?)
Matapule
Maafu Tukuiaulahi
Matapule
Fale Kaono
Matapule
Maatu
Matapule
Fotofili
Matapule
Tui Haa Takalaua
Matapule
Ahio
Matapule
Luani
Matapule
Niu Kapu
Motua puaka (Kava matapule)
Tui Kanokupolu (presiding)
Lauaki (Kava matapule)
Nuku
Matapule
Tui Vakano
Matapule
Lavaka
Matapule
Fielakepa
Matapule
Fohe
Matapule
Tui Lakepa
Matapule
Tui Haa Teiho
Matapule
Tui Haa Ngana
Matapule
Malupo
Matapule
Veehala
Fasiatofi
Fasitapu
Vahai
Ata
Fasitapu
Fasitoua
Ngaluhaatafu
Momotu
Labukefu
Kapukava
Fasitoua
Kava Bowl
Assistant
Assistant
Kava Mixer
Assistants and Kava Chewers
Vaea and Tolo
(Chiefs behind the bowl)
The People
Ulukalala
Tungi (the Prince Consort)

FIGURE 1.—Kava circle of the Tui Kanokupolu.

Ko Hihifo kuo laka,	Hihifo has progressed,	643
Kae mahu ai Tonga.	Thereby Tonga has prospered.	276
Koe me'a pe 'e ua kuou,	I have known only two things,	533
Koe vale pe moe tu'a piko.	The fool and the humpback.	539
Ko ilo'i tu'unga koau	I am the known foundation	574
Tua liku 'o Valefanau.	From the back of weather shore of Valefanau.	

The first and third songs praise the people of Hihifo and the prosperity of Tonga under the rule of the Tui Kanokupolu chiefs, whose original seat was Hihifo District of Tongatabu. The second song is said to mean that a fool experiences two things, his own foolishness and a back bent from hard work. 643 276 574 533

The families of the chiefs sat in the general assemblage (*toua*) behind the kava ring. At the end of the ceremony the grandchildren of the lords (*tui*) removed the materials used in making kava and the baskets containing the relish food (*fono*). These baskets were exceptionally large and made of specially chosen large coconut fronds. They are called *kato fakapangai* (Pangai-style baskets, that is, baskets befitting a great ruler). 643 276 574 [622]

Apparently to symbolize the allegiance of the great lineages and chiefs to the new Tui Kanokupolu was the use of the fiber kava strainers which were named for them. There were fiber strainers for the Haa Maafu, the Haa Ngata Motua (in charge of Matafahe), the Haa Havea, the Haa Ngata Tupu (in charge of Fakailoatonga), the Haa Ata (in charge of Tongatea of Haakame), the Haa Vaea (in charge of Luani of Vavau), and the Haa Maufanga (in charge of Latukefu of the Hihifo district). 643 276 574 613

While the kava was being prepared, Motuapuaka and Lauaki argued as to which was to distribute it. The origin of this traditional feature of the ceremony is said to have been a dispute between an earlier Motuapuaka and a Lauaki. Each advanced his claim to the privilege, till finally it was brought to the test of who (or whose son) slew most men in a battle. Lauaki won the precedence on this score, but later gave up the honor to Motuapuaka, who still holds it. 643 276 574

A feature of the ceremony was a series of stereotyped speeches (*malanga*) urging the people to give attention to food production in order to properly support the new ruler. Before beginning his address each speaker moved forward about two paces into the kava circle. He spoke very slowly. To speak otherwise would constitute an affront entailing the performance of the humbling ceremony (*hu*) before the ruler after the installation. 643 276 574 537

Tovi of Kanokupolu spoke first concerning the collecting of crustaceans and mollusks. Then Faoa of Kanokupolu spoke concerning reef fishing and bonito catching. Lastly Ata spoke concerning cultivation of the land.

TOVI'S SPEECH

Ka ke ka moeia ha mehingo pe pe ke ma'u ha paka pa ha tafolo pe ko ha pesiloa pe hingavele pea oua naa femuni'aki ka omi ke fau ha kato ke au ki Fonuamotu.

If you should catch a *mehingo* (a kind of oyster), crab, *tafolo* (a kind of crab), *pesiloa* (another kind of crab), or *hingavele* (a shell fish), do not keep it for yourself, but bring it in a basket and send it over to Fonuamotu (the home of Tui Haa Takalaua). 643 276 574 537 539

ATA'S SPEECH

Tapu moe Afio 'oe Hau. Koe tala 'o Pangai 'e fai atu. Ke to ae ngatae, moe kaho, to moe au, ke tauhi aki a Pangai ke tokanga ae tangata ke to ngoue'i ae kelekele ke mahu, koeuhi koe tauhi oe Hau.

Sacred to the Majesty of the Ruler. The speech of Pangai will be given. Plant the ngatae, and cane, plant also the sugar cane, for the repair of Pangai and take note that each man must cultivate the ground to produce plenty of food for the upkeep of the Ruler.

and constitute the Haa Motuapuaka. See pages 38, 39.) The other name of Motuapuaka 643
was Molofaha. He is the chief of the present matapule. When the sovereign 644
has a kava ring with the chiefs, this matapule sits at the right side of the sovereign. [551]
If he cannot be present, he sends one of his brother matapules to represent him. It is said that these matapules came from Samoa with the mother of the first Tui Kanokupolu, who was a Samoan woman, the daughter of a chief named Ama.

NGATA AND THE HAA LATU HIFO

The following tale related by Daniel Faupula of Haakio, Vavau, tells 643
of Ngata the first Kanokupolu and two of his "brothers," the three being 173
called the Ulutolu (Three-heads).

> The Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga had three sons, Vaoloa, Halakitaua, and Ngata. Vaoloa's mother was from Nuku's family. Halakitaua's mother from Niukapu's family. Ngata's mother was a woman called Tohuia, a daughter of a Samoan chief named Ama.
>
> When these boys grew up, the Tui Haa Takalaua sent them to the chief Ata [a 643
> probable anachronism] in Hihifo to make kava for him. They treated Vaoloa as 173
> the highest chief of the first kava ceremony. For the next one, they made Halakitaua 276
> the highest chief and the kava consequently belonged to him. At the third kava ceremony, 574
> they made the youngest brother, Ngata, the highest chief. The boy was so young he did not know how to command his kava to be returned to his elder brothers in the same way they had given it to him, so he simply remained silent and of course the kava has been his ever since.
>
> At the end of the kava ceremony the three boys went back to Fonuamotu where the Tui Haa Takalaua stayed. The Tui Haa Takalaua and his matapule saw the three boys at the distance, and the Tui Haa Takalaua said to the matapule, "Gentlemen, you may see those *ulu tolu* who are coming." *Ulu tolu* means three heads, and this was the origin of the phrase Ulu Tolu as applied to the Tui Kanokupolu and the chiefs Nuku and Niukapu. The three boys told the Tui Haa Takalaua how the kava ceremony had gone. The Tui Haa Takalaua was amused, and said, "It is all right. Let him have your kava, for his mother was a stranger [Samoan] to this place."
>
> The boys grew to be men. Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga sent Vaoloa to 643
> live with his mother's people over whom his son became the chief Nuku; and Halakitaua 173
> was sent to his mother's people in Haapai, over whom his son became the chief Niukapu in Haapai. He sent Ngata to Hihifo and made him chief of that district, because he was the son of a stranger (Samoan). Ngata became the first Tui Kanokupolu.
>
> The Ulu Tolu left Fonuamotu. When they got as far as Takoto they were all saying to each other, "Tau mavae a he," which means, "Let us part here." This was the origin of the chiefly name Kaumavae.
>
> The name Haa Latuhifo, which means lineage of descending chiefs, was applied [613]
> to Vaoloa and Halakitaua because they became lower in rank than Ngata who was made Tui Kanokupolu. This was the origin of the Haa Latuhifo.
>
> When a kava ceremony is held, if Nuku and Niukapu are present, but no higher [276]
> chief, both preside and one, instead of the usual two, matapule is sufficient. He sits [574]
> between them.

FIRST FRUITS AND TRIBUTE

All of the land and its products were regarded as the property of the Tui 643
Tonga. In similar fashion, the land within the domain of the Tui Kanokupolu 651
was regarded as his property, but subject, of course, to the demands 421
423

cide to make the *pongipongi,* the chief Momotu is sent at once to notify the 622
other lineage. If decision is made by the Haa Ngata Motua, it is not necessary 643
for the Haa Havea to bring gifts, though they will be present in court 651
when the Haa Ngata Motua appear before the Tui Kanokupolu. The death
of any of the king's relatives is an occasion for the *pongipongi,* though not
the only one. It may take place several times a year. For the Haa Ngata
Motua, Ata sets the time. To make the presentation to the Tui Kanokupolu 622
before three o'clock in the afternoon is an offense for which Ata will be 643
blamed. The Tui Kanokupolu is apt to make some caustic remarks, and all 651
of the Haa Ngata Motua must seek pardon (*hu*) from the Tui Kanokupolu, 689
when each chief puts on a huge *taovala* mat reaching up his back and over [292]
his head as a sign of humility. He also dons a necklace of Tahitian chestnut [301]
leaves and sits like a matapule before the Tui Kanokupolu. The posture [516]
thus assumed is cross-legged, with the hands clasped and the two index fingers
resting together and pointing forward. The head must be bowed so that (516)
the supplicant does not look at the ruler. Motuapuaka, the Tui Kanokupolu's
matapule, then makes intercession for the offenders. The matapules of the
offending Haa Ngata Motua sit behind the offending chiefs and cannot make
intercession for their masters.

When the *pongipongi* is made at the proper time, Motuapuaka requests 622
the presenting chiefs to show their gifts. The covers of the baskets of food 643
are lifted by the commoners who have carried them in for the chiefs. In 651
addition to the Haa Ngata Motua or Haa Havea chiefs who are making the
presentation, all of the chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu's court are supposed
to be present.

Similar presentations of food, also called *pongipongi,* are said to have been made anciently to the Tui Tonga.

A ceremony in which the proper representatives of chiefly families present
kie mats to a great chief or to the king is called *tookie.* It is held on [764]
occasions such as deaths, marriages, or great feasts. The term *tookie* might [585]
refer also to the division of such *kie* gifts among the members of the family [574]
of the one to whom they were presented. The general making of presents [431]
to a chief is called *tukufatongia.*

Although I was not present at any presentation of food to the Tui Kanokupolu, 431
I saw in 1920 processions of people bringing food to the house of 793
Mr. Watkin, President of the Free Church, who was temporarily staying
at the house of the Free Church minister in the village of Pangai, Lifuka
Island. On October 4, thirty to forty people, mostly women, bearing vegetables
and fruits assembled at the house of the mayor of Pangai. When all
were assembled, they formed a procession, the women wearing great *taovala*
mats as signs of respect and humility, and several pairs of men at the end
of the line bearing bunches of coconuts and bananas slung from poles on

Diligent inquiry revealed no trace of the belief mentioned by Mariner 565
that the souls of *tua* perished at death, Christianity having endowed the commoner 775
of to-day with a soul as imperishable as a chief's. 795

None of the many Tongans interviewed used the word *mua* (or the 565
plural form *kaumua*) as Mariner does, to designate a class intermediate between 196
matapule and *tua*. They concur in applying *mua* to a person whose two parents are of the rank of chief and matapule. Such offspring are designated also as of *eiki* rank, if the chiefly parent is of high rank; or as matapule, if the chiefly parent is low in the scale of chiefs. One informant defined *mua* as "persons who are placed above others of their rank because of certain superior blood in their veins." Sometimes the term *eiki* is added to *mua*. Thus the late chief Tuita was spoken of as *mua eiki*, because his father as a navigator (*toutai*) was matapule and his mother, the daughter of the Tamaha Amelia, was of chiefly rank.

The term *mua* is used also to designate the person in the king's kava 565
ring who is *eiki*, matapule, and *toutai* all in one. He may hold the first place 574
next to the king's matapule; no other chief can displace him, although a 276
chief of proper rank may seat himself next and crowd back all others on that 643 196
side of the ring. The person next the *mua* who is thus displaced is called the *muaheke* (*heke*, to move on the posteriors while seated).

The word *mua* means also "one who leads or goes ahead" and in this 565
sense is applied to a matapule who goes to a place in advance of his chief, as 196
when taking kava to a house for presentation. Thus, Lotoaniu, the matapule of the Tui Haa Teiho, would also be the *mua* of the Tui Haa Teiho. The word *tuumua* denotes the principal person with a chief; *hulumua* means to go with chiefs, to become a *mua*.

As the position which one occupies temporarily in an assemblage depends 565
upon the presence or absence of superiors, Tuita may serve on one occasion 554
as matapule to the king and on another may act as a chief and have a matapule administer to him. In other words, the person of greatest importance in an assemblage, even though of relatively low rank, becomes the president, so to speak, of the assemblage, especially if there is kava drinking. But some chiefs in Tonga are of such transcendant rank that they could on no occasion serve as matapule even to superior chiefs. Thus Tupoutoa could not serve as matapule to Tungi, his superior in rank. The fact that a chief serves temporarily as a matapule does not mean that he permanently assumes that rank, for real matapules, like real chiefs, have fixed hereditary titles.

I made several attempts to get lists of people grouped according to rank. 565
For people of higher rank, there was, of course, no difficulty; among the people of chiefly blood, but without titles, the relative rank of individuals was difficult to establish.

The
inequalities of rank are regarded not as the result of rule imposed by con- 829
querors, but as the result of rules of primogeniture within the family and of 186
differences in ability of chiefs. As one informant put it, "Some men pos- 565
sessed ability to rule and became rulers. The strong man became king, the wise man became the matapule, the weakling became the commoner." No doubt this statement is a rationalization, but the belief in community of origin of the three social classes is prevalent in Tonga to-day. If the country was ever overrun by conquering immigrants, all memory of their coming has been effaced. There is, however, ample evidence to show a continual dribbling into [167]
the country of people from surrounding islands.

There is probably less attachment of commoners to their chiefly relatives 565
to-day than there was in the past. In fact, with the absence of internecine 622
warfare and with the freedom bestowed by constitutional government, the people may move about with greater liberty and need not adhere closely to their related overlords. However, there is still a strong attachment to the [423]
chiefs and to the land and even with the present system of leasing land the [427]
tendency is for a family to remain attached to the soil, the tract which a father leased being likewise leased by one of his sons.

To understand the system of apparent servitude which prevailed in Tonga, 565
three features of family relationships should be kept in mind: (a) the 593
superior rank of sisters; (b) the superior rank of older siblings; and (c) 604
the *fahu* idea. To the demands of the *fahu* of a great chief, that chief and his dependants were obliged to accede. Thus all of the descendants of the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho are *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and to the commoners of that lineage. In other words the whole of the district of Hihifo, Tongatabu, is obliged to yield its best to the great *fahu* of the chiefs of the district, who here is the Prince Consort Tungi.

INDICATIONS OF RANK

The relative rank of individuals is visualized in seating arrangements, 554
particularly in the kava circle, but also in the house, both at meal times and 576
on other occasions.

The head of the household, the family patriarch, called *ulu oe kainga* 592
(*ulu*, head; *oe*, of; *kainga*, related) was accustomed to sit midway between 554
the two house posts (fig. 2, *a*), at the end which he used as a sleeping cham- 574
ber, facing the opposite end. This position was called *matuloki*. All other sitting places were called *lotofale* (inside house). If the head of the house ranked all his guests, he maintained his position. His highest ranking guest sat at his right hand and the next in rank at *c*. The positions *a*, *b*, *c*, 592
were reserved for chiefs. Matapules would sit at the other end of the house, 554 574
d. Commoners would not dare to sit in the house. If the guest should 565

rank the head of the house, the seat *matuloki*, was given to him, the host, 592
if a chief, taking his proper place to the right of the ranking guest, if a 554
matapule, at *d*. If the host were a commoner and a chief should enter, the 574
host sat outside the house. If a man should sit in a place to which his rank 565
did not entitle him, the ranking man present, would order him to his proper 554
place. If a man should occupy a place inferior to his rank, he was invited 576
by the person seated at *matuloki* to occupy his proper place. As every man knew his correct place without being told, to sit in the wrong place was not only an error, but a presumption.

[342]

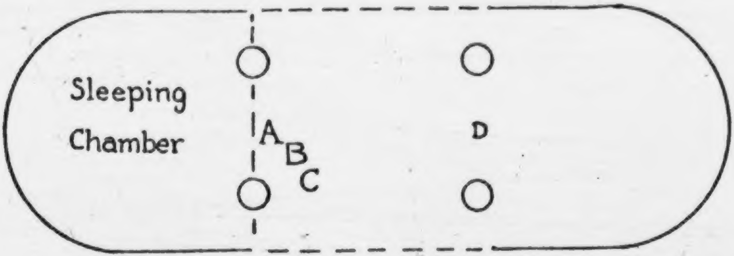

FIGURE 2.—Sketch showing manner of seating within the house: *a*, place of highest honor; *b*, place next in rank; *c*, place for chief third in rank; *d*, place for seating matapule.

On ordinary occasions, in the representative household, food was not 264
eaten at any one place or by the household as a group. Each person ate where he chose, but always outside the dwelling house, often in the kitchen house.
On special occasions, as when guests were present, leaves or mats were spread 264
at a definite place and a seating arrangement was observed as shown in 574
figure 3. 554

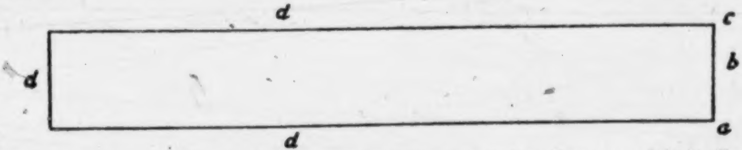

FIGURE 3.—Sketch showing manner of seating at eating places: *a*, *uluipola* (head in coconut thatch), reserved for the ranking person present; *b*, *c*, *d*, places of decreasing rank, called *tafaaki pola* (coconut leaf thatch at the side).

The structural differences in the houses of chiefs and commoners are 342
described by McKern (43). 114

The garment worn by men, women, and children of all social stations 291
was the *vala*, a rectangular piece of tapa wrapped around the loins and hang- 565
ing from the waist to the ankles or above them. According to one informant

only the matapule and chiefs wore tapa *vala*, the *tua* men wore a *vala* of 291
losi leaves, called *sisi losi*, but the *tua* women wore these only when poverty- 565
stricken. The *tua* wore tapa only on dress-occasions, and then it was a worn
out piece, descending to them from a previous owner of higher station.

In the presence of superiors or on occasions necessitating an outward [292]
show of respect, the *taovala*, an old mat, was worn over the regular *vala*.
young members of a chiefly family, both men and women, often wore *lo-
ngangatu*, ordinary tapa treated with coconut oil to make it smell sweet.

Anciently it was the practice for chiefs to wear the *vala* or skirt-like [622]
garment to half-way between ankle and knee, otherwise they were said to
be "cooks" or "descendants of cooks," for cooks wore the *vala* to knees or
above. It was permissible, however, for a man to wear his *vala* very high [304]
to show his tattooing.

The combs of chiefs and commoners were distinctive. The commoner's 301
comb (***helutuaniu***) was made of coconut "needles" (rib of the frond) fast- 565
ened together with fine twine. The chiefs' comb (***helutoa***) was of hardwood [531]
(some of turtle shell) which was cut entirely through with fanciful patterns.

Many of the privileges which chiefs and matapules enjoyed were prohib- 565
ited to commoners. The fresh-water dug wells were enjoyed as bathing places [515]
only by chiefs. Commoners might not play certain games, notably the bil- [524]
liard-like game called *lafo*. If caught playing this game they would be pun- [689]
ished, perhaps even with death.

If a chief calls at a commoner's home, the commoner accompanies him 565
on his return to his quarters. There he talks with him. In approaching or 574
passing a chief, or when spoken to by a chief, a commoner would assume [516]
a stooped or bowed posture called ***tulolo*** or ***punou***. If passing a chief, he [576]
would say ***tulou*** (please excuse my passing). If on horseback, he would dis-
mount.

All pigeons (***lupe***) caught were taken to chiefs, and eaten only by them. 262
If commoners ate pigeons they were punished by whipping or even death. 565
Pigeon-snaring was perhaps the most popular of chiefly sports. A host of 223
words refer to it. Many of them are used metaphorically of women, suc- 689
cessful love-making being likened to successful pigeon-snaring. [526]

The following are notes which were set down from the lips of a com- [196]
moner (here called X) born in Vavau, and who was 58 years of age. They [831]
are of interest as giving his outlook upon social stratification. Doubtless 565
the pride of higher connections exhibited in his remarks is typical of the 829
attitude of many Tongan commoners.

The name which X bears is that assigned at birth and is expressive of courage. [553]
It also occurs in Tonga as the title of one of the Tui Tonga's navigators or fishermen.
X's maternal grandfather fought at Pea for the Tui Kanokupolu George I, and was [729]

walking stick of a chief and to the staff of a matapule. The skill with which 622
the fly whisk was handled usually elicited remarks from surrounding gossips. 643
To use it swiftly and precisely elicited the comment: "He is an accomplished [481]
chief; long has he used the *fue*." If a man were clumsy in handling it, it
was asked: "Who is this man who shakes his *fue* like a *tua?*"

Many great chiefs or warriors were tattooed in eccentric manners to 622
distinguish them from common people. Vahai had two lines on each side, 304
the upper ones extending to the breasts. King George I Tupou is said to 565
have had the head of his penis completely covered with tattooing to show
his disregard for pain as well as to mark him peculiarly.

A headdress of feathers (*fae* or *faefae*) was worn by chiefs during times 622
of festival or ceremony or at the outset of a war expedition. 293 721

A chiefly person or a high matapule (and the members of his household) 622
washed his hands in a special bowl (*kumete fanofano*). That of the Tui 643
Tonga (called *fakafanonga*—rendered by Baker [2] as *fafanonga*) was 565
used by him only. A commoner usually washed his hands by rubbing them 515
with the pith of the stock of the *fusi* banana.

Each chief of consequence had as part of his establishment a public 622
house, *falehau*, for the entertainment of distinguished visitors (42). Tasman 574
(30) pictures such a house as open on all sides. There were also houses for 345
the sons and daughters of chiefs and their associates (42).

The chiefs owned all the land and could take what they pleased from 622
their tenants and even kill them. On Lifuka, commoners inland could not [421]
fish on the lee side of the island. A commoner catching a large fish must [423]
give it to the chief. If he ate it he might be brought before the chief and [226]
condemned to death. To a commoner who refused to obey his order, the [687]
chief might say, "You are going to be dead," and it was not unknown for [754]
such a one, as he started away, to drop dead.

The arbitrary power and cruelty of some of the chiefs is manifest from 622
the early accounts. The Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho cut off one arm from 661
each of his cooks and Ulukalala (Mariner's patron) tortured and drowned 152
political enemies. The cruelty of Teukava, a contemporary of Tukuaho and [681]
Ulukalala, was of a different type. On one occasion he gave a feast in which
the entertainers were naked girls. At another festival (*katoanga*), he ar- [164]
ranged in a circle a group of men suffering with elephantiasis of the testicles
and went about with a hook pulling their privates out into view. Apparently
the victims were entirely at his mercy, opposition probably meaning death.

On Fotuhaa Island, Haapai, is a cliff from which commoners jumped into the foaming surf to get bananas (*hopa*) thrown into the sea by the chiefs. The cliff is named Haamoa because of a Samoan who was killed while thus entertaining the chiefs.

is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (26, p. 77), one version of which 622
specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates. 554

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou*, a Samoan [591]
term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine*. Girls, classed as [592]
taupoou, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore [535]
finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed [291]
and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might [276] [574]
sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling [252]
was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as [356]
in Samoa. [526]

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which [831]
in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as [551]
a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names. If *manaia* and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or [551]
large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of [825]
such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following 622
processes were used: (a) *kaukautuitui*, the rubbing of the entire body with 554
chewed candle nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with 302
a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice 565
a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body. [515]

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to [261]
eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of [826]
her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded 622
by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats 554
and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her 285
upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness 516
or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa*. 622
After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were 513
tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was 516
834
554

To-day songs are composed for various occasions. At one entertainment, 538
I listened to a chorus comprised of about twenty girls who sang under the 533
direction of the bard, and accompanied the singing with graceful movements 535
of the head, arms, and body above the waist. During much of the performance the girls were seated. This corresponds with the statement of Father A. C. (46, p. xvi), who says in substance that

> To those songs they usually join bodily attitudes, hand clapping, or the accompaniment of instruments, etc. Besides the nafa—a wooden drum—and bamboos of many di- 538
> mensions, which are made to sound by striking them on the ground, there is a musical 533
> instrument, the fangufangu, a kind of bamboo flute of six holes, blown with the nose. 534
> The Pan-flute also is known, consisting of 8 or 10 reeds drawn together in parallel
> rows, but giving rather irregular notes.

To what extent these instruments were used as accompaniment to the
songs and chants of the bards in ancient times I do not know. Cook gives [535]
an illustration in which the singing and dancing is accompanied by the pounding of bamboo cylinders vertically upon the ground. A mat was sometimes struck with sticks at the termination of verses as in the epic entitled "The voyage of Kae" (26, p. 145).

Father A. C. (46) says that "there is no gathering without war or his- 574
toric songs, or without meditative songs or dances." But I think that in mak- 533
ing this statement he does not include the *fono* (assemblage to hear a chief's 535
orders) and the ceremonial kava drinking. In connection with these I have 622
never heard of singing, though kava drinking may be preceded or followed 276
by an entertainment.

Tongans have a considerable vocabulary to designate bards and their 538
compositions. The terms *hiva* and *taanga* are used for songs in general; 192
tauaalo for a song or chant sung while paddling or doing other work; *fakanaanaa* for a lullaby (25, p. 6); and *lave* for a chant. In addition to the chant the Tongans also have the recitative, which they call *fakaniua,* a word which means "in the style of Niuatoputapu Island." Informants said the term was applied to poems in which big things, not small details, are portrayed. (See 26, p. 18.) The term *mau* denotes an epic poem, such as "The voyage of Kae." For the poets themselves the Tongans employ the words *mau* and *punake*.

Thomson (54, p. 378) characterizes Tongan poetry as "uninteresting in 538
that it generally treats of scenery and flowers, seldom of the drama of life, never of the drama of love"—a characterization which of course is purely subjective. The omission of the "drama of love" is particularly well brought out in one poem (16, p. 87), which is alleged to have been composed by a man who had hoped to marry a female Tui Tonga, but who was disappointed in this by the lady marrying a chief named Vuna. The poem, although addressed to the lady, contains not a single word of love, dwelling almost entirely upon the scenery, and upon recent political happenings.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.] 538

Oh! My mind is unsettled, as the wind, and not steady. The wonderment of it! To 539
leave the land in charge of a fool. What is it that will be timely (best) for the chiefs and the land? They run away and live, but I stay and die, because it is a mischievous land. What will they do when they drive their enemies to Hihifo and the people arise and throw spears, as they do at fish when caught in a net drive? [Mumui speaking.]

Oh! Then we will see the true friends. I thought that I was of some use, that I was familiar with difficulties, and that war was my food. But you do not want me, so I will sit down (no longer rule). [Mumui speaking.]

Angry be you. I will be weak. Why Tongatabu has already been left as a land of women. Alas! my lonely grief. You consider what is best to be done, as the chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.]

Perhaps I have sinned. Perhaps I have crept to a great chief. Oh, it is the fruit of living with a bad ruler (*hau*). Go, cheat and coward, and sit in the high place of the chief (referring to the kava ring), while I remain with those that serve; while I bear the brunt of your ill-doing. Alas! The joining of the strong hibiscus (chief) with the weak banana stalk (commoner). And is that the reason for the wish that I should come to punishment? If I had crept to your house, or if I had been rude to the Tui Tonga, or to the Moheofo (chief wife of the Tui Tonga), then it would have been right to punish me. When was I thus? And call it clever, and punish me that trusted to Lolopaongo (a high chief). "Why they are fetching men to fight in Hahake, to fight you." [Poet speaking.]

Angry be you. I will be weak. Why Tongatabu has already been left, as a land of women. Alas! my lonely grief. You consider what is best to be done, as the chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.]

There, bring the stars for Mumui, the Alotolu (part of the constellation Orion) and the Toloa (Duck, the Southern Cross), and all shining things; make afraid the wind and the breezes, because of Mumui. Bring Ongomalie (reef) and all the (other) reefs, and the thunder from the sky. The voyagers have left. Fear is at the back of the "regiments." Mumui is lord over all. Is there anything like this chief, or in keeping with his great dark mind? My trusting to him was of no use, and my kindness to him was not appreciated. Oh! do not speak again. Exile me to Toku Island. I love the ruler [Mumui], but it will be well for me to go as I am of no service. Stay (good-bye), Tongatabu. [Poet speaking.]

KAVA DRINKING

The traditional first use of kava in a drink is assigned to the reign of 276
the tenth Tui Tonga and to the island of Eueiki, near Tongatabu, and an 173
expression is attributed to this occasion, when the Tui Tonga's matapule said to the Eueiki people, "Fakaua ki Manuka hotau taumafa kava" (Have twice unto Manuka our kava drinking). Whether the Manuka referred to is the place in Tongatabu, or the one in Samoa is not clear. If the reference is to Tongatabu, Manuka may be the polite name for the Tui Tonga himself, in whose honor the people were enjoined to drink twice.

The drinking of kava is exceedingly common in Tonga to-day, reported
to be more common than in heathen times. Aside from casual or social 276
occasions, kava was imbibed at all ceremonies, including marriages and 574
funerals. Installation in office or succession to title was legalized in the 585
kava circle by the calling of the new title when the kava was served to 764
428

the new appointee. This form of ceremonial installation (*fakanofo*) prevailed 276
from the Tui Tonga down to the lowest matapule. When a god 574
became incarnate in a priest, the kava circle was formed with the priest [428]
presiding. Matters to be discussed with the king or a high chief were [643]
broached at the king's kava circle, which comprised the principal chiefs attendant [624]
at his court. Some executions took place within the circle (26, [793]
p. 67). [622]

The formal drinking of kava has perhaps its most important social [681]
aspect in the visualization of the rank of the participants through the seating 276 574
and through the order of serving. 554

With one or two exceptions, no chief might sit in the formal kava circle 565
without an attendant matapule. When the Tui Tonga, Tui Haa Takalaua, [622] [624]
or Tui Kanokupolu presided at a kava circle, he was flanked by two matapule. [643]
In the formal kava circle only titled persons may sit; the president [644]
of such a circle seems always to have been the title-holder of highest rank.
With the exception of the Tamaha and perhaps the Female Tui Tonga, who [562]
were title holders, women seem not to have presided in kava circles except at [585]
marriages.

The formal circle, therefore, comprises the assemblage of the representatives 276
of the ancestors, the first holders of the titles. The first holders of 574
the titles of Tui Tonga, of matapule Lauaki, of Tui Pelehake, and of Tui 769
Loloko, were the putative sons of a god, Tangaloa Eitumatupua; the original 776 554
holders of all other titles were the offspring of mortals. There seems, however, [793]
to have been a certain equating of gods and ancestors, for a priest possessed
by a god presided as would the king. Moreover the Tui Kanokupolu
is called Taliai Tupou, the name of his patron god. I suspect that the title
holders in the kava circle impersonate the ancestral first holders of titles and
perhaps are even regarded as their temporary incarnations. (For example,
Lauaki is called Maliepo, the name of his ancestor who descended from
heaven.) This probability is strengthened by the fact that whenever a chief is [622]
accompanied by his matapule, formal conduct is required of him. [624] [576]

The following terms refer to the kava ceremony: 276

Alofi. The kava circle. 574

Apaapa. The alofi or circle of the Tui Tonga's kava party; the masters of ceremonies in a kava party, that is, the matapules who sit on each side of the chief who presides in the kava party; to sit next to the chief in the kava party. 192

Faikava. Literally, to do kava, a kava party.

Fakamatua. A movement from one sitting posture to another. For example, if a group of men in a kava circle are sitting tailor fashion (*fakataane*) so close together that their knees are touching, and others come to join them, the president may say "Fakamatua", at which every one turns to the right obliquely, thus making room for the new arrivals. [516]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Fakamuifonua. A method of making kava; a very formal procedure employed 276
only in the making of kava for the Tui Tonga, the Tui Kanokupolu, or an im- 574
portant chief. 192

Fakataane. The sitting position of the Tongan men, knees widely extended, flat [516]
on ground, feet folded beneath legs, body inclined forward, elbows across upper
legs, hands near lap, left hand taking care of lower garment (*vala*), keeping
it pulled up from behind and between legs when necessary, as when assuming
the position and rising. This was the ceremonial sitting position. At a *fono* or [689]
kava circle a commoner could be killed for shifting to the slightest degree from
this position. At times of entertaining it was extremely discourteous for a man [576]
to sit in any other position, unless he were infirm, or had some other physical
excuse. It was tapu for a woman to sit in this fashion. [562]

Fakatakape. To clean the bowl rim with *fau* fiber, as soon as the *fau* is thrown into the bowl. The *fau* is passed twice around the rim, wrung out, and thrown back and away from the mixer, as in the later part of the process.

Fakataue. To mix very strong kava in a new bowl and bathe the edge of the bowl repeatedly with the strainer, to give the bowl's interior the kava stain—a yellowish deposit which adheres to the bowl.

Fakatomo. The central tap root or body of a large kava root, not chopped into small pieces, but left intact. For a great chief's kava.

Fatuauho. Thick kava made from the small roots of the plant.

Fau. Fiber of the inner bark of the hau (*Hibiscus sp.*). A bunch of this fiber serves as a strainer.

Fono. The food or relish distributed at a great drinking of kava. The kava and [264]
the particular *fono* that accompanies it are distributed simultaneously, but the
food is nowadays not eaten, but collected again. Formerly it was eaten. Some-
times ten or more *fono* are served, according to the number of mixings of
kava. Should the same kava be used for a second infusion, an accompanying [624])
fono is not required. The *fono* is divided into three lots by one of the two
matapules who sit beside the presiding chief. The first lot is for the chief; [622]
the second and third lots, divided by the matapule, are for their respective
sides of the ring.

Kava. The plant (*Piper methysticum*); the drink made therefrom; a piece of the root from which the drink is to be made.

Luluki. The root of the kava plant.

Malumeimua. The order by the matapule who is master of ceremonies to the [624])
attendant who carves pork, instructing him to cut the back of the roast into
two equal portions.

Palu. A drinking cup folded from the banana leaf, having two puckered corners [415]
tied with banana stem fiber. The drinker holds the cup by the two corners or
ears. Used for the drinking of kava on certain ceremonial occasions. Used
at the Queen's kava circle at her coronation. For most modern kava parties [415]
a half coconut shell serves as a cup.

Toua. The place behind the bowl in which sit the relatives of the chiefs who are in the kava circle.

Uhunoa. Refers to matapule not visiting a chief's house with a piece of kava, but going instead to other peoples' houses without kava.

DIFFERENCES OF PROCEDURE

The late rise of the Tui Kanokupolu makes the titles connected with 276
the kava ceremony for this office less ancient than many of those connected 574
with the ceremony of the traditionally older office of Tui Tonga. The Tui 643

Kanokupolu, or perhaps Tui Haa Takalaua, developed his own kava circle 276
(fig. 1) as a secondary ceremony to that of the Tui Tonga. Along with it 574
there arose minor differences of procedure. The two separate courts which 643
thus developed were called metaphorically Kauhalauta (Inland-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Tonga; and Kauhalalalo (Shore-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Kanokupolu, and traditionally to the earlier Tui Haa Takalaua. The Tui Tonga's type of kava procedure seems to have given way everywhere to that of the Tui Kanokupolu, except on the island of Fotuhaa, where according to the informant Moungatonga, the Kauhalauta procedure is still followed.

In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Tonga presided, he received the second cup of the beverage, the first going to one of his matapules. The cup was carried to him in silence, his title not being called. In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Kanokupolu presides, the third cup is his. It is announced as "Ave ia maa Taliai Tupou" (Take it to Taliai Tupou).
As Taliai Tupou is the name of the patron god of the Tui Kanokupolu, it [776]
would appear that the king impersonates the god. Anciently the Tongans [782]
poured out kava as an offering to the gods, as is done in Samoa to-day as an [171]
offering to the Deity. The kava drinking was the occasion for making welfare prayers.

In the accounts of the Kauhalauta procedure which follow no deity is mentioned. They appear to date from the time of the Tui Tonga, as reference to the Moheofo (the Tui Tonga's wife) indicates. The following translations are from a manuscript by the late Malupo, a matapule to the Tui Tonga.

> If it is the illness of the Tui Tonga, or the sickness of a chief, and the country 276
> is in trouble, then these words shall be used, in mixing the kava: "The kava is 574
> diluted." 782
>
> The person who is directing the serving says, "Diluted with a blessing." 643
>
> Then the mixer repeats: "The kava is diluted." 622
>
> The real significance is a prayer for a blessing by the means of the kava, because of the sickness of the Tui Tonga, or the illness of a chief, or any difficulty the land may be in. It is not right for any ordinary person to invoke the blessing. Only a chief, or a matapule who is a clever speaker, may do it; and it is not done at random; but only when the kava is diluted. At that moment he speaks.
>
> 782
> The kava ceremony is performed also when preparing for war, or during war, or 276
> for a voyage, or for work that is to be done. In addition to performing a kava cere- 574
> mony when the Mohefo expects to be confined, a prayer (*lotui*) is said that the child [724]
> may be a son, and many prayers are offered by the people. [505]

[461]
This prayer may also be uttered: [843]
[842]

"Kava ka hui."

"Hui moni monu, monitonu, ke tuu maupe, pea haohaoa, ae otu kaveinga. Pea tau hufia ki he Eiki ke toloi atu ae ngaohi aho, pea toloi atu moe ngaohi mahinga, pea toloi atu moe ngaohi tau, pea mo ha ngaohi tau; o laui kuonga, ae lakoifie o ene Afiona, pea lakoifie pe moe Tui Faleua. Pea matafipe Tonga, oua naa i ai ha aoaofia, aua naa i ai, ha malomaloaa, oua naa i ai ngalulu, pea leleipe a Lauaki, mo Motuapuaka, he koe faulalo oe fonua ke holo mai hona Hau, pea fulipe ki he futu ko Vuna."

"The kava is diluted." 276

"Dilute it with a blessing and may the blessing remain, and be perfect, like the cluster of stars. And let us intercede with the Chief that he lengthen out the days, and lengthen out the months, and lengthen out the years, and still more years; and may his Majesty remain well in health forever, and may Tui Faleua (Tui Pelehake) remain in health forever. And may the South [or Tonga] be swept clean, for there to be no overcasting of the sky, for there to be no shadow, and for there to be no trembling, and for Lauaki and Motuapuaka to be well, because they hold together the land in the coming of their Ruler and all to the *futu* tree of Vuna." 574 782 539

["Hold together the land (people)" is said to have been the parting command of the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I to Lauaki and Moungamotua (the first Tui Haa Takalaua)].

In serving the chiefs and matapules in the Tui Tonga's kava circle, the titles are called as follows: "Ae kava a .... (title)" literally, ...'s kava). In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle they are called as follows: "Ave ia maa .... (title)" (literally, Take it to ....). In announcing in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle the matapule call the cups of the Tui Kanokupolu and of Ata loudly, but the cups of all others (including Ahio's) are called softly. 276 574 576 [554]

In delivering the cups of kava, it was forbidden in the Tui Tonga's ring for the servers to pass from one side of the ring to the other. There were two servers, one going to the right from the bowl, the other to the left. The servers announced the filling of each cup in the Tui Tonga's ring, whereas in the Tui Kanokupolu's ring it is announced by a man who sits continually at the side of the bowl. In the Tui Tonga's circle the server sat beside the bowl while the kava was strained into the cup. He turned his head and announced: "The kava is lifted." Then, when the recipient was designated by one of the officiating matapule, the server took the cup to him and sat down in front of him before presenting it.

In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle the first cup is taken usually to the "first" matapule at the Tui Kanokupolu's right hand, the second cup to the person sitting to left of the "second" matapule at the Tui Kanokupolu's left hand, and the third cup to the Tui Kanokupolu. The "right" matapule announces the third cup, the "left" the fourth, and so on alternately. After the third, the various chiefs are served in order of rank, then the matapules. The order of being served depends upon the composition of the kava circle, 276 574 576 565

that is, the precedence of a chief in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle might 276
differ from his precedence in the kava circle of another chief. 574 576

In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the wooden kava bowl (*kumete*) is desig- 565
nated as *tanoa*. On one side of the outer surface of the bowl is a little 276
raised block (*taunga*), usually triangular, perforated and threaded with a 574
piece of cord by which the bowl may be suspended when not in use. In the 415
Tui Tonga's kava circle the bowl was so placed that the *taunga* was towards the president, a position called *fulitaunga*. In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle the *taunga* is towards the kava mixer, a position called *olovahaa*, because the space (*vahaa*) between two legs of the kava bowl is towards the president.

In splitting a large root of kava with axe or crowbar, in the Tui Kano- 276
kupolu's kava circle, the roots are placed towards the president, the branches 574
away. In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the position was reversed. In count- 576
ing baskets of food the Tui Tonga (Kauhalauta) people touched the first and merely pointed to the rest (14, p. 210). "The first one is the Tui Tonga's and he alone is chief."

Food, as a relish (*fono*), is placed before the individuals in the kava 276
circle. While of old, it apparently was eaten by the people to whom pre- 574
sented, at the present time it is removed and eaten by the *fahu* (sororal 264 [178]
nephews or grandchildren). [604]

When the Tui Kanokupolu arrives by sea in another country or in a 276
distant province, his navigator, in the place of the regular matapule, must 574
direct the activities of the kava circle. He serves in this capacity for three 484
mornings, in addition to the kava drinking when arriving. After that Motua- 643 [502]
puaka, or one of his family, resumes his duties in the kava ring.

The following account by William Tungi, a grandfather of the present 276
Prince Consort, relates the directions for the Tui Tonga's kava circle, said 574
to have been formulated by Loau, the Tui Haamea, during the reign of the 576
Tui Tonga, Takalaua, or immediately thereafter. 643

> These are Loau's directions: When the chiefs are assembled in the kava ring in the green of the Kauhalauta called Faoamanafa, on the left side [of the Tui Tonga] will be the Tui Faleua; on the right side [of the Tui Tonga] will be Tokemoana; Tafolo will sit at the turning in [*fasialofi*] of the right side of the circle; Lomulahi will sit at the turning in of the left side of the circle; and the Tui Haa Teiho sits at the end [near the kava bowl].
>
> It is forbidden to strike the wrong-doer at the kava drinking. There is a saying, [681]
> "A sinner at the place of refuge." And it is forbidden to deprive the chiefs of the [622]
> food portioned to them as relish (the carrying away of the relish), and it is loaded [264]
> into carrying baskets. The relish food of the matapule may be taken away; and the younger brother may drink the kava.

The following account of the kava circle of the Tamaha is translated from a manuscript by Elia Malupo, matapule of the Tui Tonga:

Formerly, when all were assembled in the kava ring at the green called Faoamanafa, there would be there the Tui Faleua (Tui Pelehake), the Tui Tonga, Tokemoana, Tafolo, Tui Houa, and all of the Sinae; Tui Hoi, all of the Fale Fisi, the Tui Haa Takalaua, and the Tui Kanokupolu; besides the Tamaha, who came first. The Tamaha would preside, and the kava for them would be strained sitting; but the kava of the Tamaha would be strained standing. And if they conversed the Tui Tonga, the Tui Faleua, and Tokemoana, and all the chiefs would "ei" (an expression of respect) to the Tamaha. If the Tamaha were absent and the Tui Tonga presided, this respect would be shown him. 276 574 576 643

Now [in the time of King George I, when this was written] that the Tamaha is not there, who is the first in the land? It is Tupou Maeakafa (King George I Tupou). He has become the sacred person and the Tui Tonga, and the Tui Faleua must "ei" to him, and do to him the sacred ceremonies, and if he is not there then these ceremonies shall be done to the Tui Faleua.

This is the order given by Loau for the sacred ceremonies of the Chief [Tui Tonga]. And the kava ring faces him [the Tui Tonga] and the sacredness of persons commences with him and continues to the end.

Loau is said also to have formulated rules for the kava circles of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu [probably an anachronism], which are given by William Tungi as follows:

Pea ne pehe ki he faikava oe faahinga o Moungamotua, moe Tui Kanokupolu, ke vahaai taha i toomatau, a Niukapu, pea vahaai taha i toohema, a Nuku; pea nofo ae faahinga Haa Ngata i he toua, o leo ae faikava. Ka i ai ha hia, ke tai, koe ta koia, oku fai aki ae sina, pe koe haamo, pe katai kava, oku lolotonga mama, ka oku tapu ke tukii, ka oku atape ke na fuhu. Pea ne hokohoko, ae tuku fakaholo ae kava, aia oku tau kea aki: "Koe tuku eni a Loau."

And he (Loau) said about the kava ring of the family of Moungamotua, and the Tui Kanokupolu, for Niukapu to be on the right side, and Nuku on the left side; and for the Haa Ngata to sit in the *toua* (place occupied by the people), and to guard the kava ring. If there are any wrongdoers it is their duty to punish them, which is done with the wedge for splitting up the kava, or with the stick for carrying burdens, or with the branch of the kava plant which has been chewed, but it is forbidden to thump them, and they must not fight. Then he gave the order in which the kava was to be given, which is introduced thus: "This is given according to Loau." 276 574 576 643 539 [681]

A manuscript in the possession of the late Maatu, Lord of Niuatoputapu Island, was written by his father, the preceding Maatu, who relates the following concerning his place in the kava circle of the Tui Kanokupolu, George I. 276 574 576 643 264

The relish (*fono*) for the King and myself is two yams and an odd one. Put the back to them and bring them straight to the front.

Because of their sitting on either side of the King, it is Nuku and Niukapu who will receive the first relish. Then mine is brought because of my [genealogical] connection. Another chief is sitting between [me and the King], but the relish is first brought to me who is next. The head of the pig and the back are taken to the chief to separate.

When my kava is brought, it is delivered and kept. If the food is insufficient I 276
have to ask permission of the presiding chief to drink. 574
To smoke is forbidden for the lower matapule, but is allowed for the chiefs and 576
Motuapuaka on one side. If they are far from the King they may smoke a little. 643
The side of Lauaki is quite forbidden to smoke. 264 [689]

MAKING AND SERVING KAVA

The following account from living informants describes the making 276
and serving of kava at a modern kava party: 574 576

The matapule to the right of the president calls out, "Ui haa motokonaki," the command to assemble the proper materials for the making of kava. The things are brought and assembled at the end of the kava circle, opposite the chiefs, in front of the kava mixer (*ngahikava*), who has two attendants called *angaikava*, one on either side.

Then the matapule at the right of the president calls, "Hao ha tangata." This is the command for someone to come to him for the kava root. One of the *angaikava* responds, carrying the kava to the lower end of the circle, where it is pounded on a stone anvil with a hammerstone. [Formerly it was chewed, a process called *mama*.] [178]

The pulverized kava is gathered by the two *angaikava* and placed on the mat to the right and back of the mixer. One of the *angaikava* then rinses the interior of the bowl, rubbing it with his hands—a process called *kaukau i ai tanoa*. Another picks up the bowl by its rim, with his left hand, strikes its bottom with his right hand (an act called *hiki tanoa*), and places it before the *ngahikava*. An *angaikava* then pours the kava into the bowl from the right side of the mixer, who then places a doubled mat or a piece of tapa, or other material, under him, so as to be in position to lean well over the great bowl. This act is called *lango lango mei*.

The mixer, with graceful flourishes of the hands, mashes the kava together in [195] the bowl, spreading it out over the inner surface of the bowl, and tipping the bowl slightly away from him, his hands on either side of the rim, exposes its interior to [643] the president, calling, if the president be the king (Tui Kanokupolu), "Holo ae taumafa ni" (Knead this drink), or "Kuo holo kava ni" (This kava is kneaded), if the president is below the king in rank.

The right hand matapule answers: "Kuo holo: tukuatu" (It is kneaded: Lower the bowl, which has been tilted towards the matapule) "Tuumalie pe kae palu." (All right, mix). "Tafoki kimoua" (Turn), addressed to the two helpers on either side of the bowl, who turn inwards. "Ai haamo vai" (Put in your water), at which many people run for water, the helpers shouting, "Vai!" (Water!) to the people in the *toua*. Those who first bring water, in coconut shell containers, deposit it before the bowl. The right hand helper then takes water and pours it into the bowl, while the mixer kneads the kava in the water. "Vaitaha" (One water) (almost enough). One helper ceases to pour water; the other alone applies water. "Taofi vai" (Stop pouring water). They stop adding water. "Palu fakatatau pea tui haafakamau" (Mix equally) and "tui haafakamau" (probably a method of twisting the *fau* fiber strainer). With a double flourish of the hands the mixer mixes the kava and ends abruptly, resting his hands on the edge of the bowl.

Then the right hand helper throws the *fau* fiber strainer on the bowl. In this kind of a kava party the strainer is very large and is called *unu*. With more hand and arm flourishes the mixer wets the *fau* and wipes the edge of the bowl, being very technical and formal in his movements. Then he begins to strain the kava, a process called in this ceremony *milolua*. He carefully and slowly pulls the strainer through the water with both hands. He then raises it, one end in his left hand, twists it and lays the twisted fiber on his left foream, the one end still clasped in his left hand. Then he reaches under his left arm with his right hand, takes hold of the end of the

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Tungi took no part in the kava circle, but went about other matters. Ata sat off by himself, to the left as one faced from *alofi* to *toua*, and was in charge of things generally, being called the *leo ae kava* (guard of the kava). He corrected mistakes of the matapule who was calling. Lamatau was the *tauhi ae kava* (steward of the kava). There were few chiefs present, but a number of matapule on either side of the Queen.

The food was brought, laid before the Queen, and counted. In counting kava roots distinction was made between different sorts that seemed pretty much the same. Different names were given to the presented kava roots; for example, *kava toho*. [The ceremonies for different types of kava are said to have minor variations.] When the bowl was brought into the *toua* to brew the kava it was wet, evidently having been rinsed round with water on the inside. The kava used had been beaten up beforehand, and was there all ready in a bundle.

The baskets of food and so forth that had just been presented were between the Queen and the bowl. When the kava had been put into the bowl, men were called to make a clear open track from the bowl to the Queen by removing the baskets in the straight line between them, a little to the side. This is called to *fakaavaava*. The bidding of the matapule to the men who are to do it being, "Koe ngaue ni ke fakaavaava" (This work is to open up). After the matapule had finished giving his instructions as to the brewing of the kava these baskets were shifted back to their original positions and the little open track again closed up. This is called *fakamaopoopo* or *fakalelei*, to gather together, or to arrange or put right. The matapule who had been doing the calling then gave the large lots of kava roots, which had just been presented with the food and were on the ground in front of the *alofi*, to another matapule, Takapu, who thereupon ordered all the food and kava roots between the Queen and the bowl to be taken away, and they were removed clear away to the side. Previously, four bunches of ripe plantains wrapped in banana leaf had been brought out, and opened, and plantains presented to those in the *alofi*. A whole bunch was taken to Ata, without being opened. These were left before those to whom they were presented for a minute or so, and then collected, and taken away.

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In the straining of the kava a very large fau fiber strainer was given to the man who did the straining, who after making the first straining threw the whole bundle of fiber on to a mat to his left and a little behind. Others then shook out the scraps of kava, divided the strainer into three parts, and then kept the man who strained going with a piece which had been shaken out. He himself did not shake the kava out of the strainer, but merely put the strainer down on the mat, when a piece already shaken out and clean again was at once given to him, and those who did this part of the job shook the just used piece. Towards the end of the straining he shook out pieces of kava from the strainer himself, but on to a mat on his right side. A man sat at the side of the bowl and scraped off on to the ground the dregs of kava that washed up on to the lip of the bowl as the kava was strained. The strainer himself gave a good sweep round that could have left very little on the edge, and then this other man scraped off to the ground any dregs still left. He sat on the right of strainer, and did not seem to bother about scraping any part except that which was quite conveniently close to himself.

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[551]

The Queen's kava was served first. The Queen clapped her hands when her name was called. After the main personages had been served, others had a drink, amongst them some old ladies well down to the left in the *alofi*. The matapule did not know their names and would ask them as it came to their turn to be called. One old lady gave the name of Lelenoa, which is the name of one of Tungi's matapule, but this was not allowed, and she had to get another name. The name of Lelenoa can be used only on the right and not on the left hand side, as Lelenoa's place is on the right.

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At the end, when the last cup was filled, the one who called said, "Koe toe oe taumafa" (The remnant of the feast), and it was given to someone.

(1) Lauaki, (2) Nuku, (3) Tui Kanokupolu Charlotte, (4) Motua- 276
puaka (?), (5) three persons on left side of ring, (6) Momotu, (7) three 574
on right side of ring (8) Kapukava, (9) Veehala (to his matapule), (10) 576
three on left, (11) three on right, (12) Maafu (to his matapule), (13) 643
three on left, (14) three on right, (15) Ata, (16) three on left, (17) three 554
on right, (18) Vahai, (19) three on left, (20) three on right, (21) Tungi (first in *toua* to get kava), (22) three on left, (23) three on right, (24) Vaea, (25) three on left, (26) three on right, (27) Tolo (in *toua*).

The entry Tui Haa Takalaua in figure 1[A] probably means some Haa Takalaua chief, as to-day there is no Tui Haa Takalaua. If there were, he could not sit in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava ring, because of his higher rank, but he could either sit outside of the circle altogether, or be president of it. If president, the kava circle would become the Tui Haa Takalaua's. The status of the Tui Tonga would be analogous; a kava party of the Tui Kanokupolu's with the Tui Tonga or Tui Haa Takalaua in the ring is inconceivable. On the other hand, in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle there do sit chiefs related to the Tui Haa Takalaua (Luani and Fotofili, for instance) and to the Tui Tonga.

An account written by the late John Panuve Maatu, the lord of Niuatoputapu, gives a somewhat different order for the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle:

> Motuapuaka or one from his family or Afu Haa Laufuli or one from his family sits on the right hand side of His Majesty. Then next is Niukapu, then Luani. Then Lavaka, then Tui Haa Teiho, then Lasike, and then Fohe. In between every two chiefs a matapule must sit, for it is not right for two chiefs to sit together. Then at the appointed places of this side sit Maafu Tukuiaulahi and his matapule, and further away from this place sit Vahai and his matapule. Near the kava makers is Tupouleva and the children or grandchildren of Motuapuaka and Afu. They fill in the places of the chiefs of this side.
>
> On the left hand side of His Majesty sits Lauaki or one of his family. Then next sits Nuku, then the Tui Lakepa, then the Tui Haa Ngana. Then comes next Fotofili, and thereafter Tui Afitu. The Tui Pelehake and Maatu please themselves for a place to sit, on either the right hand side or left hand side, but they cannot sit in the appointed places of Niukapu and Nuku if they are there; and the same with the chiefs of the Fale Fisi. They have no appointed place, but they cannot take a place already appointed to someone else. In their appointed places sit Veehala and his matapule and further away from this place sit Ata and his matapule. And the children or grandchildren of Lauaki, or the fishermen and navigators, fill in the places of the chiefs of this side.

If a chief such as Ata, Veehala, Maafu, or Vahai is absent, his place 276
may be left vacant. The station of Vahai's sons who act as police is behind 574
the bowl (fig. 1),[A] and with them sit the sons of Ata, Veehala, Ahio, and 576
Kapukava. During the ceremony only Vahai's sons may get up and then 643
only for "police" duties as Ata's messengers. The relatives of the highest 622
chief (the president) sit behind the bowl. This sitting outside the ring is 554

A. [See category 116, p. 96--Analyst]

out of respect to the highest chief. Thus Tungi's sitting outside the coro- 276
nation kava ring in 1918 was to show respect to the Tui Kanokupolu 574
(Tungi's wife). Tungi had a matapule near him, however, a departure from 576 643
the custom of the preceding Tungi. 622

Veehala, Maafu, Ata, and Vahai are chiefs who hand their kava to their 554
matapule. Both chiefs and matapule receive the kava with both hands held 276
low. Each matapule sits on the side of his chief away from the king. When 574
the chief passes his kava to his matapule, he does so with one hand, so that 576
the back of the arm is toward the king. The matapule receives the kava with 643 622
both hands, holds it a while and then returns it to the chief, who receives it 624
with the same hand with which it was passed. The chief then drinks it. The 554
handing of the kava to the matapule is a sign to the one serving that the
matapule must not be overlooked. To do so would be an offense to the chief [721]
and would be a cause for war.

Precedence is very important. If there are, for example, two Moala in 276
the ring and the matapule who is serving does not know their distinctive 574
appellations, both may clap their hands when the name Moala is called. The 576
serving matapule then calls for two cups to be filled. If one of the Moala 554
wishes to argue over the matter, he calls for the servers to stop. The order of 624
precedence is then discussed and settled.

All food and kava, brought in *haamo* fashion (on shoulder poles) was 276
deposited before the president in a long row, horizontally facing him. When 574
placed before the president, his matapule chanted, each in his alternate turn, 264
at time intervals of a few minutes: "Fakafetai toho kava; fakafetai fanga [624]
puaka; fakafetai ngaue" (Thanks for the *toho* kava; thanks for the pigs,
thanks for the ovens of food).

FUNERAL KAVA CEREMONIES

The following account of funeral kava ceremonies for a great chief is 276
derived from a manuscript by the late John Panuve Maatu, chief of Niuato- 574 764
putapu: 622

> At a funeral, Lauaki serves at the kava parties till the time of the placing of small stones on the grave (*lanukilikili*). Then Motuapuaka takes his place. Thereafter the kava and the cooked food are brought to the grave.
>
> This is the way of thanking the matapule one after the other when all is ready: 276
> "Thank you for *kava-noo* (kava bound together). Thank you for *kava haamo* (kava 574
> carried on the shoulders). Thank you for *kava hula* (huge kava). Thank you for 576
> *kava toho* (kava too large to be carried, but dragged on the ground)." 764
>
> This is the manner of thanking for the work, one thing after another: "Thank you for *ngaue* (a word applied to the preparing of food in a native oven). Thank you for the *feiumu fakahunga* (very large food). Thank you for the *feiumu hula* (huge food). Thank you for the *feiumu toho* (food too large to be carried, but dragged on the ground)."

This is the manner of thanking for the pigs: "Thank you for all pigs [except 276
puaka haamo]. Thank you for the *puaka haamo*. Thank you for the *puaka hula*. Thank 574
you for the *puaka toho*." 576

If there are any ripened bananas [bananas ripened by wrapping in banana leaves], 764
"Thank you for the ripened bananas." Then next is the Tongan pudding (*faikakai*), 262
then next is the *too* (shellfish), then the melons, and all things from the land and lastly other things from the sea.

If there is a kava for the women, then this is the order of the thanks: first is the *kie* mat, then the *fihu* mat, then the *kumi* black tapa, then the white tapa (*ngatu taahine*), counted in the thanks for tapa making. Then next are the *fala* mats, then the *efu* mat, then the *kie Tonga* mat. And the last word of thanks is said, "Then thanks for the work done. Thanks for the goods."

After the thanks, the matapule who directs the activities says, "Come, look at the cooked food." Then the thanks are said like this, "Yams, good work."

If there is to be any kava drinking at the funeral then the officiating matapule says: "Get all your things in the *toua* ready." Then after that he says, "Someone come. Keep that kava to be made."

But first he asks the president (Tui Kanokupolu) which kava is to be taken and made.

After the kava is beaten the matapule expects the kava to be made known. Then he says to the persons in the *toua*, "Come, let the work be shown" (so that the king can see the kava better).

After that the man who makes the kava turns sideways and says, "The food (drink) is ready." Then the directing matapule, if it is plain to him that the kava is enough for the kava bowl or kava drinkers, says "Deliver, it is ready. Slow, till mixed. Turn, you two; call for water." When the matapule thinks there is enough water, he says, "First water." Then one stops pouring the water and holds it out. Then it is understood by the matapule that there is enough water and he says, "Stop the water, and mix. Examine and fix the strainer of the kava ready to serve." After he says, "Stop the water," then the remaining unused water is taken away. And when the kava strainer is ready, the matapule says, "Mix below and give him the strainer for the kava."

During the time the strainer is in use Motuapuaka takes the opportunity of talking to the people or one of his family does so, or Lauaki or a navigator, if it is his turn for directing. If the king says the kava is not sufficient, then the matapule asks the kava maker, "Is the kava ready or is there not enough?"

If it is answered, "It is not enough," he will say,

"Put the strainer in the kava bowl, bring it to the front, and someone come and take more kava."

The matapule knows when enough kava or too little is in the kava bowl and it is plain to the matapule whether or not to serve the kava in a banana-leaf cup. He will ask this way, "Is there enough kava in the kava-bowl?"

If it is answered, "The bowl is not big enough," he will say,

"Look for another bowl." And that is brought and one of the men from the kava makers divides the kava and takes it to the new bowl.

Then the order is given from the chiefs near the bend of the kava ring, and it is not allowed for Motuapuaka and Lauaki (the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule who do the announcing) to speak standing up.

Then their remarks are prefaced like this: "I am going to say a few words. Tapu 554
[used by inferiors to superiors, meaning "sacred to thee"] for the Tui Haa Moungo 195
who attends and tapu for the Haa Siulangopu and Latu Hifo, and tapu for the Maliepo and Molofaha, and tapu for the Haa Vaea and tapu for the Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Ngata Tupu, and tapu for the Haa Havea, and tapu for the Haa Maafu, and tapu for the chiefs all present, and tapu for the *toua* chiefs." [The *toua* is the place behind

those mixing the kava, where sit the relatives of chiefs.] Then he starts his speech. 276
And when the strainer is in the kava there is no speech and it is not allowed to talk at 574
the time the reigning prince (*hau*) is drinking, for it is for him they are making the 576
speech.

After the straining of the kava, the strainer is thrown again to the kava bowl and 764
the matapule who directs says: "You come, make the cooked food good." When that is finished he says, "Count the cooked food."

And this the way of counting the work. They start with the food to be carried called *umu kaveetau*, next the food called *umu fakahunga*, next the food called *umu hula*, next the food called *umu toho*. Then after that the pigs are counted. First he counts the pigs (*puaka*) in the earth oven, next the *puaka haamo*, next the *puaka hula*, next the *puaka toho*.

The same counting is done with the kava, just as explained above in the "thanks." Then after it is counted and the quantity is made known, the matapule is informed by the king to keep one oven of food (*feiumu*) to eat when they are drinking kava. Then three other ovens are assigned. The oven in front is kept for the king and Motuapuaka who divides for the chiefs of one side. The second oven is kept for Lauaki who divides for the other side. The third oven is kept for Veehala, beyond the bend of the kava ring.

They first fix up the oven of food for the king (Tui Kanokupolu) and Motuapuaka and when that is finished they then turn out the oven that has been kept for the side of Lauaki.

Then Motuapuaka speaks, saying, "Someone stand up and bring three yams, also the back of the pig and put it in front for the kava-drinkers." The head of the pig is the relish (*fono*) for Motuapuaka. Then the relish is divided amongst the chiefs of his side. And the same is done for the side of Lauaki and his chiefs, but the first chief [King] gets the back, as Motuapuaka gets the head for himself.

It is allowed for the matapule who sits between the chiefs to call someone from the kava makers to get the relish (*fono*), leaving aside the king's share for a certain person to take or leave. The relish that is kept for Veehala is turned out on his side, and the rest is taken to Maafu Tūkuiaulahi where it is divided. For Ata and his side the same is done. Then the rest is taken to Vahai and thereafter the basket is thrown out.

When they clap hands for the kava, the matapule who delivers the kava says, "Young men come, prepare the kava and serve the cooked food. Keep it for the kava of (naming person to receive it) and set it to the side." And after taking the kava aside, they deliver the kava and this is the way of delivering. If the kava and cooked food are served together, the king drinks the first cup. If the kava and the cooked food are not served together, the king drinks the third cup, but as to that the king lets them know, for he can do what he likes.

First the chiefs drink, then the matapule in between. After four of each side drink then Veehala's kava is next. After that one of each side drinks, then Tolo's kava is next; but if Matafahi is absent, they also omit Fakailoatonga's kava and he drinks later when it is delivered to him.

Then one from either side drinks, then Maafu Tukuiaulahi is next. Then one from either side drinks again and Ata's kava is next. Then one from either side drinks and next is Vahai. And after that two from either side drink then the kava of the Haa Havea in the *toua* is served. Then two from either side drink. Then next is the Haa Ngata Motua, then two from either side. Then next is the kava of the Haa Ngata Tupu and so on; but the matapule who delivers sees that the two sides drink together. And so he continues this way of delivering for all the chiefs until the kava is finished.

When the kava is finished, then one comes from the side of Vahai to the middle and says: "That is all of our kava we can offer." Then the matapule who delivers says, "Take the *toua* away." Then the kava drinking is finished.

There is a mound at Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, known to be the place 846
of burial of the umbilical cord of a woman of rank, named Mafitoutai.

Nothing was learned of any special attitude towards twins (*mahanga*), 845
except that they were thought desirable.

An attempt is made to flatten the nose of the infant by pressure fre- 856
quently applied with the fingers. Large calves and small ankles, which
are regarded as a mark of beauty, are sought to be developed by frequent
massaging of the flesh of the child from the ankle upward and from the
knee downward.

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

A lock of hair over one temple (called *fangafanga*) was worn by young 302
girls until virginity was lost. Thereafter the hair was cut short (shaved, 852
one informant said) from the forehead straight back to the neck. This 836
was done as soon as the loss of virginity became known, and whether the 884
loss was due to marriage or illicit relations. The daughter of a great chief [622]
might wear all her hair of her head at full length until her marriage, but [565]
not thereafter. The term ***fakahaalavaka*** was used to designate the par-
ticular style in which a chiefly girl of the Haa Havea wore her hair as a
sign of virginity. Baker (2) uses this term as the designation of long
hair worn as a sign of virginity by any girl.

Chiefly families still observe the ancient ceremonies connected with the 881
incipiency of womanhood. These observances were formerly general. When [565]
the first period of a daughter of a great chief arrives, her mother is notified
and then her father informed. The mother will say to him: "Our daughter
has commenced to menstruate today." The girl is then forbidden to bathe 881
during this first period, because of the belief that it would stop the flow. 841
She is painted all over with turmeric by her mother on the first day and [515]
then put to bed, as though she were sick, to remain for the rest of the [302]
period. While she is lying in bed a big feast is held, given by her father, [574]
but supervised by the father's sister. Gifts are distributed by the mother. [431]
When the flow ceases, the girl bathes. She is accompanied by an old [515]
female attendant. She and the old woman chew ***tuitui*** (candlenut), ***langa-*** [824]
kali flowers, ***nukonuka*** flowers, and ***pako*** grass root, or other sweet-smelling
plants. These masticated plants are rubbed over the body before bathing [302]
and the candlenut is used as soap.

No deity had charge of the girl during her period. Girls were not [776]
married before first menstruation. [582]

The first period of the daughter of the Tui Tonga was marked by the 643
following observances. The girl was painted with turmeric, she was for- 881
bidden to bathe, and she slept on and under black tapa to hide the blood [515]

On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This 881
bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without 515
anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them 752
and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is
said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *haihai*.

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout 881
the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was 574
lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present [264]
of even products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers [789]
of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast [593]
in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the opera- [431]
tion, as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present
for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one [761]
of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. [784]
Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to [752]
have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but 58
it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some 114
particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleai* (arranged) and *fa-* 581
tongia (duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To 595
marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*.

Wilson (66, p. liv) states: [837] [689]

> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death.
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem 548
> to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class. [171]

The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitau*. It is perhaps to such a [837]
person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her
paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

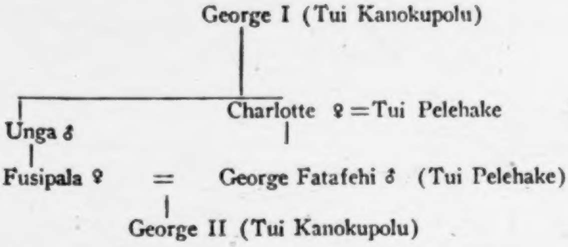
The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people 584
is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the 604
marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans
of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of 584 622 302
a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head.

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is 585 593 431
presented to the bride by her brother.

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced 587
in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin mar- 582
riage of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among [622] [565]
chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her
cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama*. Marriage to identical cousins
was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata
Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

(p. 281). An example of marriage of a man to his mother's brother's 582
daughter follows. It is said that the other form of cross-cousin marriage, i. e., to the father's sister's daughter, occurred, but was rare.

[601]


George I (Tui Kanokupolu)
Unga ♂
Charlotte ♀ = Tui Pelehake
Fusipala ♀ = George Fatafehi ♂ (Tui Pelehake)
George II (Tui Kanokupolu)

Cross-cousin marriage is metaphorically called *takaifala* (rolling up mats), for it is said of the woman that she goes to roll up the mats of her father's
sister's son. In cross-cousin marriage it was the sister's child who held the [593]
higher rank in the marriage on account of being *fahu* to his spouse. Cross- [605]
cousin marriage is to-day called *mali* (English marry) *fatongia* (duty); that is, a marriage of duty, referring to the duty of the brother's children to look after the sister's children.

A *fokonofo* is a supplementary wife or concubine brought by a bride to 595
her husband. Should a bride select her *fokonofo* from within the family, which was the custom, they were either younger sisters, persons from the inferior or mother's side of the family, or the daughters of the father's younger brothers; apparently the daughters of the father's sisters who were superior relatives could not be taken by a bride as *fokonofo*.

The *sinifu*, or concubines, of a great chief usually occupied a single large 595
house, where they might be visited by the chief, or whence they might be 622
taken to the chief's house. At the chief's house lived his favorite or the 565
wife of highest rank (*maitaki*). The term *sinifu* refers to the relation of 595
the woman to the man, while the term *fokonofo* refers to the relation of the inferior co-wife to the superior co-wife.

Open conversational flirtations were the prevailing form of social inter- 521
course between a man and a single woman, but never openly between a man 834
and another man's wife. There was no indiscretion, however, in a man's 837
making a social call upon a woman at her house while her husband was absent. 574
The house door was always open while any of its occupants were at home, except on occasions when some peculiar tapu might rule otherwise.

When a man met a beautiful unmarried girl on the road, it was customary for him to carry on a flirtatious badinage of words with her in addition to
the ordinary greeting. He could tell whether she were unmarried if she [302]

wrapped about their waists so that their arms were held far out from their sides. Six 431
men carried a huge bundle of tapa and mats by means of three long poles. Eight 585
women carried a huge mat, probably 12 feet wide and 40 feet long. The procession [285]
moved slowly and was bound to the house of George Kupu, who was married the day [482]
before.)

Then a kava circle composed of relatives was formed, the bridegroom presiding, the 585
bride seated at his left, each of them seated upon the lap of either of their two officiating 276
fae, the bride usually sitting on the lap of her male *fae*. 594

Only one bowl of kava was served. Following that came the distribution of the 585
presents (*vahevahe*). The *ngaue* was first distributed among the assembled relatives of 431
the bridegroom. The bride's relatives later received their share of the bridegroom's [276]
present to her people, at the hands of the bride's father or other officiating family representative. In this distribution of food the ranking members of the consanguinary group [554]
received the best parts, and so on in ranking order. If there was not enough to go around, the lesser representatives of the group went without, or the bridegroom's father might feel it his duty to supply food for these from his own oven.

Then the *koloa* was divided into two equal parts and distributed, but not until the bridegroom had selected in proportion to the amount a number of articles to be used in his own house. The bride also chose a like share of the man's presents to her people. In distributing the presents, the bridegroom's father or other official representative of his people (according to some informants it was the father's sister who distributed the wealth) had in mind what each person had donated toward the present that had been given to the bride's people, and each got his original gift returned in double quantity.
In accomplishing this return, the distributor often stripped his own house of all its 585
possessions, counting the social prestige of his family of greater value than his material 554
property. If he should fail to complete the traditional remuneration to all concerned, his 431
unmarried sons and daughters and the progeny of his married children lost face and might consequently fail to contract desirable marriages. If the distributor had insufficient goods to meet the demands, he set his household to work making tapa, mats, baskets, oil, and other articles required.[6]

A similar distribution was made of the presents of the bridegroom's people to the bride's people.

If there was great inequality in the size of the wedding gifts, the group making the smaller donation was shamed and lost social prestige to the other group. It is not to be implied that this portioning out of the *koloa* took place in one day. It began immediately after the breaking of the kava circle, but it often lasted a month and even two months.

Throughout an entire marriage ceremony, the bridegroom's father, or nearest paternal relative if the father were dead, was vested with peculiar authority. This office 585
is said to have had no name. He was the proper one to announce the date on which the ceremony should begin. He denied the bridegroom the privilege of consorting with the bride until an appointed time. On the first night (third night?) after the exchange of gifts, he instructed the bridegroom to test the bride with his finger to determine if she
were a virgin. This testing was called *mokeakii*. If her virginity was confirmed, this [554]
man stated the period of time that must elapse before the bride and bridegroom might
live together as man and wife, anywhere from three days to two months, the length of [565]
the period of continence being in direct ratio to the bridegroom's social rank. A *tua* slept with his wife on the first night.

The specific night on which cohabitation took place was definitely determined by the progress of all preparations. The presents had to be apportioned, food for the following feast had to be ready, and minor details of preparation had to be attended to. Near the end of the prescribed tapu period, the father determined through his wife when all preparations would be complete. He then informed the bridegroom that the night was at

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[6] Suggestive of the potlatch system of the north Pacific coast of America.

The reply is given, "We, Motuapuaka and Lauaki; we have come in attendance on Vaoloa" (or whatever may be the bridegroom's name). Then the maiden comes out, and goes with the bridegroom, and this [untranslatable] invocation is uttered, "Tula-no lomai-saiena, tietia i le tafatusema. Singano e tu'u, fa'a mumuni, sa pule mo sa manatu." And they call the names of the bride and bridegroom, "Vaoloa e, Vaoloa e, Takala e, Takala e," or whatever they may be. Individuals have more than one name, but the names used on this occasion are those that are held in esteem. Then they cry, "Mimisoe, mimisoe, alaimafae, alaimafae, asapae, asapae," following this with a loud shout. Someone keeps shouting, over and over again at the top of his voice, "ai, ai, ai, ai," until they come to the bridegroom's house, where an abundance of food has been prepared. Kava is drunk at the bridegroom's house, the bride being the president of the ceremony. If Lauaki and Motuapuaka each has a daughter, the daughters distribute the kava, and continue to perform this duty until the end of the marriage ceremonies. If Lauaki and Motuapuaka have no daughters to do this, they themselves control the distribution. One basket of food (*fono*) is brought to distribute with the kava, the remainder of the food that has been prepared is taken to the bride's home. Every day there are presentations of food and kava (*pongipongi*) until the marriage is completed [or this might be rendered, until the marriage is held]. If the man is not wealthy the festival is held quickly, but if he is illiberal it is delayed for a long time. [Meanwhile, of course, the stingy bridegroom is obliged to entertain the guests.] 585 565 [551] 585 565 276 574 431

Part of the bridegroom's duties is to attend to the building of the *fale manava*, the house on, or near, the green (*malae*) where the marriage festivities are held, and which serves as a dressing-room for the bride. 585 565

On the night before the day on which the marriage ceremony actually takes place, the bridegroom's sisters come with kava, and with some of the bride's people drink kava on the *malae*. This is called *kaihaa malae*, stealing the green. The green is swept beautifully clean. A chiefly man is brought to prepare the kava for the ladies. [276]

Early in the morning the drum is beaten for the ceremony and the bride and bridegroom are adorned in dresses provided by the bridegroom. The bride's dress is called the *puke* (seized). It consists of one of the mats called *fihu*, two of the mats called *ngafingafi*, and any specially fine or notable mat (*kie*) which is available for her to put on. It is said that she has been "held" or "seized" with the fine mats. This dress is the *vala fetaki*, dress of going hand in hand. The two go to a house on the *malae*, where there is a great pile of native cloth, provided by the bridegroom, and cloth bound round with the fine mat called *fihu*. This is the *epa* (a sort of bridal throne). They then return to the dressing-room (*fale manava*), and change their dresses, putting on garments provided by the bride. In these fresh garments (called *vala toonga*, consisting perhaps of one each of the mats known as *fihu* and *ngafingafi*), they go again (presumably to the house where is the *epa*) without clasping of hands. When they return this time the dress called *vakai* is put on the bride, and she goes, without the bridegroom, to the house on the green, and sits on her throne. Here she is anointed with turmeric (called the *vala vali*, dress of painting). Then the bridegroom's sister utters an invocation, "May you bear children, yea even twins." Then the bridal kava is served, accompanied with large quantities of food. 585 565 292 585 565 [302]

After that the drum is beaten for the native dance, and the woman goes and puts on other mats and returns and walks about. After the dance, the drum is beaten for the couple dance (dancing in pairs). Then comes the night dance which lasts until dawn of the next day. Sometime during the night the *piha pongipongi* is held, and the basket of food is brought which is called *lomi piha*. It is portioned out. Food is also portioned out to the dancers. [276] [264] 585 565 535

Is there anything that has not its food ceremony? Each food ceremony has its meaning. The coconuts to be cooked are brought green and in bunches. This is the food brought by the woman's party. The coconuts are gathered in bundles and the cooked food is gathered in bundles. These are the special baskets of food: the *veifua*, which is 585 565 264

likely that a relative would attend to it. Now relatives of the deceased dig 764
the grave, but the *haatufunga* supervises. Every funeral has its accompany- [565]
ing feasts and kava drinking. All who attend a funeral partake of [767]
the feast. At a chief's funeral the *haatufunga* officiate at the feast, giving [622]
out the food. The head of the largest pig goes to him. Food may be taken [767]
home after distribution or eaten at once. The feast is not in the house
where the deceased passed away, but nearby on the same premises. There [535]
is no dancing at the present day funeral feasts.

It is incumbent upon the family of the deceased to pay the *haatufunga* 767
with native wealth (*koloa*). A chief will have many fine mats and
tapa which are used in payment. Ten, twenty, thirty, or sixty days elapse
before payment is made to the *haatufunga.* The reason for the intervals was
not given, except that the higher rank of the deceased, the longer the pay-
ment is deferred, and the bigger the payment. Anciently non-payment by a
chief never occurred. Nowadays if no payment is made a lawsuit follows. [686]
Commoners, as well as people of rank, must pay, but no prearrangement of
the amount is made with either.

For ten, fifteen, or twenty days there are morning kava ceremonies and 765
small feasts following the big funeral feast. The *haatufunga* is present at 276
these. At the first of these kavas, two or more *haatufunga* have an argument 574
as to which of them is highest in rank—a purely formal traditional pro- 554
ceeding. 767

The funeral feast is called *feipulua,* the breakfast served by the family 764
of the deceased on the morning after the burial, *fakapongipongi;* the funeral 765
of a chief, *meafakaeiki*; the funeral of a commoner, *putu.*

The Female Tui Tonga managed the funeral of the Tui Kanokupolu 764
Mumui (66, p. 241), though doubtless the *haatufunga* officiated also. On this 643 768
occasion two of Mumui's widows were strangled. 644

Tradition says that occasionally a *haatufunga* was imprisoned in the vault 764
with the body of the chief or king he was interring (16, p. 77). At Houma, 767
Tongatabu, when the vault of the chief Vaea was opened in 1903 the skeleton 782
of a chief was found in proper position, lengthwise, and in one corner was
the skeleton of a *haatufunga* who had been shut in the vault.

Each adult individual had a mourning song, called *tangilaulau,* to be sung 765
at the obsequies of a relative or close friend. This song consisted of a 533
definite tune, a simple theme oft repeated, and a lament, also oft repeated,
extolling in a simple way the virtues of the dead and very tragically mourning over his departure. Such a lament was permanent with each individual, excepting for the interchange of such words as father and son, as occasion demanded.

These songs began immediately after a death and continued, more or less spasmodically, until the completion of all obsequies. They never were used

did not see the wall." The term *alaipuke* means "to take the outer works of 725
a fortress"; *tele* means "to charge the enemy from the rear." 726

Public boasting by individual warriors before a combat was a common 701
practice. An important brave would brandish his club before the commander 726
and tell what he would do. It was customary to hold a kava ceremony on [276]
the eve of battle, and during the ceremony the braves would boast, or pledge [574]
themselves to valiant action. It was not unusual for a warrior to boast
that he would kill the first foe that should be slain. This of course pledged
him to rush foremost into the thick of the battle. Occasionally the chief of [276]
the army would give to the champion who pledged himself to such an undertaking the most important cup of kava, the chief's own cup (17, pp. 142-143). The first slain enemy was called the *uluafi* (literally, head of fire).

A particularly vindictive and insulting way to kill an enemy was to render 726
him helpless, then drink a coconut while sitting on his prostrate body. This was done by Tupoutoa in slaying Tupouniua in Mariner's time, to avenge the assassination of Tupoutoa's father, the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho. The victim was killed not in battle, but was caught unarmed after a bath.

Bodies of troops were classified as *matanga* (company) and *kongakau* 701
(regiment). The number of men in each is not known but it seems likely that *matanga* was the smaller body, as it was comprised of troops commanded by a single chief, and that a *kongakau* presumably comprised two or more *matanga*. However, Baker (2) defines both terms as "regiment" and the Catholic dictionary (46) gives the added meaning of "people of a locality" for the term *kongakau*. The term *kapisi* denotes the wing of an army.

Three *kongakau* are said to have existed anciently in Tongatabu, the *kongakau* of Haamea, of Utulau, and of Matakehe, each consisting of the men of a whole district. King George I made a new *kongakau*, that of Haa Vakatolo. The *kongakau* Matakehe belonged to the Tui Tonga. The other two ancient ones may have been under the Tui Kanokupolu or Tui Haa Takalaua. In a manuscript by the chief Maatu I find references to what may be bodies of troops.

> Haa Vakatolo and Lolopaongo [near Foui, Tongatabu?] are the people (regiments?) who belong on the side of the Tui Kanokupolu. Haamalo [near Lapaha] is on the side of the Tui Tonga. Haamalo Matakehe and Pelehake [near Alaki?] are the people (regiments?) on the side of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

In the early nineteenth century at least, the practice of eating some of 727
the slain enemies had arisen, due, so Mariner (40) says, to Fijian influence. 266
The corpse of an enemy was contemptuously referred to as *pakola*, a Fijian 177
term said to signify "underneath."

The term *fakaulu* denotes the custom of bringing the slain troops of one's 727
(according to a modern informant) own army and placing them before the

[1812-1845]

of Nukualofa, the friends of Tupoutoa were like the seaweed that is taken by the 173
current, they separated themselves and stayed as though they had joined Tonga. Only 643
Ulakai, the paternal half brother of Tupoutoa, came with a few men. When the 764
fleet arrived at Uiha they took Tupoutoa's body on shore. And after the *toloveifua*
ceremony (presentation of gifts to bereaved) and the *ta-mee* (dancing) and the ceremonies
of the funeral were over, Ulakai was appointed king at Veilupesia (in Uiha).
That commenced the disturbance at Haapai. 173

Neither Haapai nor Vavau had any love for Ulakai, because of the separation 669
of Nukualofa from them. Fuapau joined Tui Haa Ngana and they took Ulakai to 726
Haa Ngana as though they had joined together; and Uhila stayed at Uiha and the
Lulunga (western Haapai) people went to Tungua. The Lofanga people went to
their own island. Laufilitonga (later Tui Tonga) went to Velata and dug strong fortifications 173
there. Tuita went to Pangai and Ulukalala went to Toa. Each dug his 669
fort. They did not dig fortifications for war but for protection, as no one had been 712
appointed as supreme ruler over them. They did this while waiting for the *toloveifua* 726
that was said to be coming from Tonga. Taufaahau (later King George I) was [884]
still going about as a youth with Ulukalala, because he had not reached his thirtieth
year. Vavau rose up and dug fortifications: the forts of Lua and Vuki at Feletoa
stood for Haapai. Tonga waited, then sent three vessels. It was not war, they 173
came only to see Ulakai. They chose the bravest warriors in Tonga to come. The 669
ship with three houses on deck (*falevakatolu*) and the canoe with two houses on [501]
deck (*falevakaua*) and the ship with eight houses on deck, all had come because
Haapai was in confusion. The Tui Haa Teiho sided with Fuapau and Ulakai. They
had come trusting to that perhaps. They all assembled at Haano, the vessels from
Tonga, Haapai, and Ulukalala's vessels from Vavau. Ulukalala's vessels went perhaps
to see what the other vessels were doing. There was an entertainment which was [574]
called *mangisi* (feast prepared for strangers) because there was a vessel that had
just arrived from Fiji.

The vessels were prepared and approached like the *veli* (a water insect like a 173
centipede). They said, "Fight," and Fuapau answered, "Fight." Fuapau was not
still siding with Ulakai and the vessels from Tonga, but with Haapai's party. But 669
Tui Haa Teiho still sided with Ulakai and his vessels and was one with them. Ulukalala 726
and his vessels stayed at a distance at Loloko and did not go to the feast.
Only a few of them went and the war was suppressed. After that Ulakai returned
to Tonga. Then Haapai settled down in peace. Vessels were prepared to take Ulukalala
to Vavau and all Haapai went. Some people of the chief Vuki were murdered
and there was nearly war. But Ulukalala's people were crafty and soon they were
reconciled, and Ulukalala went and dwelt at Feletoa. The Haapai people returned to
their own island. And they dwelt thus as though Vavau were submissive to Vuki.
They watched each other like two male turtles, smooth on the surface only.

One day Vuki went down to have a bath in the stream Tufutele. When he came [515]
out of the water he met Ulukalala in the road. They conversed pleasantly, and Ulukalala
invited him to go with him to his place and have some kava. Messages were
sent to Ulukalala's people to come and make the kava and Vuki was asked to stay
in the inclosure of Finau (Ulukalala) while men were sent to club Vuki's people,
the people that had clubbed Taliauli-Malohi. Vavau subsided and proved the truth
of the saying of Taufaahau: "Vavau is like a handful of dry sand." They let down
Vuki whom they had upheld, while they turned and upheld Ulukalala. It is true what
Satulo says, "I will not be friendly with a double tongued people." Vuki was banished
to Haapai and Finau (Ulukalala) was supreme ruler at Vavau. He portioned out
the land at Vavau and he gave each of the chiefs a piece of land. The piece of
land called Leimatua belonged to Taufaahau. Finau (Ulukalala) knew that that piece
of land was Taufaahau's, so he ill treated the people. Taufaahau knew that the people
were ill treated because of him, so he sent word to the elders (or principal men)
to go and tell Finau that he had given back the land to him, to please himself as to
whom he would give it. It was done, and Taufaahau withdrew. Just about that time

TAUFAAHAU'S WAR CHIEF, HAVILI OF NOMUKA [8]

Havili was a chief and the greatest fighting man in Nomuka. Havili was a 173
heathen first, later a Christian. He was Taufaahau's "general." When Methodism 797
was first brought to the country it was pretty hard for Taufaahau to get the people 798
to be Christians. Havili was called to Tongatabu to aid Taufaahau in suppressing
the heathens. Taufaahau fought the Mua people first and won. Later he fought 669
Nukualofa and won. Then the Mua and Nukualofa people helped Taufaahau to 726
fight against Hihifo. Hihifo was too strong for them, so he (Taufaahau) sent for Havili to come and help him and then they won. After the war Havili returned to Nomuka. Taufaahau had come to Nomuka originally to get Havili and to assemble fighting men from Haapai. The fighting men collected on Taufaahau's ship and were brought to Nomuka where Taufaahau, Havili, and Maafu were waiting. Taifonoifua of Fonoifua was not a chief, but a great fighting man. Falase of Nomuka, was not a chief, but a great fighting man. These two were not matapule, but commoners (*matatangata*). Siulua of Lofanga, was a fighting man, but not a chief or matapule. These were all *matatangata,* men with great strength. The vessel went from Lofanga to Koulo in Lifuka and got Tavalu, another great fighting man who was neither chief nor matapule. These men were to be the *ciki tau* (commanders) of Taufaahau's army and were to command troops. Then the vessel left for Vavau to bring Tuimalohi, a commoner, and Pupunu, a matapule. From each place came one big vessel with the fighting men of the place led by one of the *eiki tau.* They sailed for Nomuka. In six days they all arrived in Nomuka and Taufaahau gave orders to leave next day for Tonga and assemble at Atata Island.

When all arrived there kava was brewed and served. The first bowl was Tau- 276
faahau's, but he did not drink it. He merely took hold of it and called out, "Who 574
is the strongest man here, the man who says he will reach the Hihifo fortress of 726
Kolovai first? Let him come forward and take my kava." 173

Then Havili stood up and said, "Give it to me. I'll drink it. I'll be the first 669
man to reach there." As soon as they finished the kava, they sailed straight to Hihifo in spite of the shallowness of the water, went as far as possible, dropped anchor, and the troops (*tangatatau*) marched from there over the tidal flats to the beach.

Vahai was the commander of Hihifo. He ordered his troops to keep a good 173
lookout on the beach, as the Haapai fighters would be sure to land there. The Haapai 797
and Vavau troops rushed in first. The Nomuka troops tarried behind. The Haapai 798
troops did not like the way Taufaahau was depending on Havili and Taifonoifua.
The Haapai and Vavau troops were driven back and many killed. Taufaahau was 669
frightened at seeing his troops driven back, so he turned and yelled out for Havili, 726
saying, "Why don't you assist the troops instead of mending sails?" Then Havili stood up, grabbed hold of a big stick called *ckooka* and broke it in half, kept one half himself and gave the other half to Taifonoifua. They rushed at two of the enemy and Taifonoifua killed one, while Havili grabbed the other and carried him back to the vessel where Taufaahau was resting. He threw him inside the vessel. Taufaahau was frightened and sat up, saying, "What's the matter there?"

Havili said, "Have you already forgotten the kava that I drank on Atata?" Havili turned away, lifted his tapa garment and rushed at the enemy again. This time he rushed against nine men at a pond near the beach. They hid, but he killed the nine of them. Afterwards he named the pond Hiva (nine). Then Havili went
on further until he came right into the midst of the Hihifo soldiers. When he got
there they all dropped their arms (*tafetei,* a spear; *kolo,* club; *mata,* knife of iron- [411]
wood). The Hihifo troops were made to kneel down.

After six days the Haapai and Vavau troops returned home. When Havili and

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[8] Related by Albert Taufa of Nomuka.

but was adopted by the *toutai* Leka. This first Ulamoleka (p. 142) was the 597
son of Tongamana, who was the son of the Tui Kanokupolu Tupoulahi. 553
In spite of this coalescence of the two *toutai* titles in a single word, they
continue to be distinct. A nickname applied in commemoration of meritorious 551
service in battle, is Holakeituai, which means "run while there is time." 553
These are words which may be uttered by troops to their commander as 701
the fighting begins, in order to warn him away from danger. The present bearer of this name is John Tupou Holakeituai of Nukualofa. He bears also the nickname of Maumauvali which was bestowed upon him when he was a baby by Lolohea, the granddaughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. The name Holakeituai was first applied to John's father's father's father whose name was Tufui. Holokeituai seems to be in the nature of a title.

The nickname of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui was Mapatongiamanu 551
which means "*mapa* fruit pecked by a bird." The nickname of Taimi was 553
bestowed because of a remark which King George I made in connection with three Vavau chiefs (Tutoe, Fulivai, and Lutui) who had childless wives. The king remarked that it was a waste of time (*maumautaimi*) to keep childless wives, hence the name Taimi was given to the infant who was born about that time.

Every chief has a nickname which is applied to him at small informal 622
kava parties and other informal gatherings. At a very formal kava party 565
his real title would be called. To call a titled person by his pre-appointment 551 [553]
name was to court trouble. To address a minor chief in such fashion might [574]
incur a thrashing. To so address a major chief would warrant death. [276] [576]

It is a common practice for girls to create nicknames, usually flower [689]
names, for the young men who call upon them and whose identity they may 551
wish to veil. There is a long series of such euphonious names, such as 553
Pipitongi which means "the *pipi* fruit cut so as to have a serrate edge," as 584
for the ornamentation of garlands.

Some nicknames have a distinctly modern flavor, for instance, a Malakai 551
Tupou of Pangai, Lifuka Island, bears the nickname of Fehokokalasini (Fehoko-kerosene), no doubt bestowed after some incident.

There are no family names in Tonga. (See p. 16.) Titles are the nearest approach to family names, but only one individual holds a title at a [554]
time. Also it is not the custom to give children the personal names of either parent, so that no semblance of family names appears even in the personal
names. Children are, however, often named for relatives other than parents and certain names are favored in certain families, as, for example, [602]
Fatafehi in the Tui Tonga's family and Tupou in the Tui Kanokupolu's family.

The total number of names in each island group is governed in large

727 669 797 not only to kill an enemy, but also all his friends and relations, if possible: the three missionaries then replied that as they had done no harm, and meant no harm, their God would protect them: at this moment, a party of natives, who were lying in wait in a neighbouring thicket, rushed out and killed them with their spears. The natives in the canoe pushed off from the shore, and made their escape.—How necessary it is to know the customs of the country! how baneful it is to be presumptuous! Our best intentions may be ruined by the ignorance of the one, and influence of the other.

727 574 But to return from this digression; Mr. Mariner, and his companions, ignorant of the language of the country, and of the customs of the people, were often much distressed for want of food: sometimes indeed it was brought to them, but often not; sometimes they were invited by the natives to walk into their houses and eat with them; but frequently they seemed to be quite neglected, and were reduced to the necessity of procuring what they wanted by stealth. [829] At length, through Tooi Tooi's interpretation, Mr. Mariner made known their wants to the king, upon which the latter seemed greatly surprised at their apparent stupidity; and inquired how food was obtained in England: and when he heard that every man procured the necessary

supplies for himself and family by purchase, and 727
that his friends, for the most part, only partook 574
by invitation, and that strangers were scarcely 829
ever invited, unless with a view of forming an acquaintance, he laughed at what he called the ill-nature and selfishness of the white people; and told Mr. Mariner that the Tonga custom was far better, and that he had nothing to do when he felt himself hungry but to go into any house where eating and drinking were going forward, seat himself down without invitation, and partake with the company. After this, the generality of the natives made this selfishness, as they considered it, of the Europeans quite proverbial; and when any stranger came into their houses to eat with them, they would say jocosely, No! we shall treat you after the manner of the Papalangis[A]; go home, and eat what *you* have got, and we shall eat what *we* have got!

Mr. Mariner and his companions, about five 727
in number, (for the others were dispersed upon different islands) began now to be heartily tired of their way of life, and requested the king to give them a large canoe, that they might rig it as a sloop, and, with his permission, endeavour to make Norfolk Island on their way to New Holland; but this he refused, under pretext that the canoe would be too weak to stand the sea. On farther solicitation, however, he gave

[A] [Europeans--Analyst]

where he left her to have her mats taken off, 643
and her usual dress put on; after which she 585
amused herself in conversation with the women.
In the mean time a feast was prepared for the [262]
evening, of pigs, fowls, yams, &c. and cava: [574]
this was got ready on the *malái*, where, about [565]
dusk, Tooitonga presiding, the company sat
down to receive their portions, which the generality
reserved to take home with them; the
lower orders, indeed, who had but a small quantity,
consumed theirs on the spot. After this [276]
the cava was shared out and drunk. The musicians [533]
(if so they can be called) next sat down
at the bottom of the ring, opposite to Tooitonga,
in the middle of a circle of flambeaus, held
by men who also held baskets of sand to receive
the ashes. The musical instruments consisted 534
of seven or eight bamboos of different lengths
and sizes, (from three to six feet long) so as to
produce, held by the middle, and one end
being struck on the ground, different notes according
to the intended tune (all the knots
being cut out of the bamboo, and one end
plugged up with soft wood). The only other
instrument was a piece of split bamboo, on
which a man struck with two sticks, one in
each hand, to regulate the time. The music 643
was an accompaniment to dancing, which was 585
[533]
[535]

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to the bottom of the *malái* with a slow and dignified 634
step, and then returned, amid the same 585
acclamations, into the house, and re-seated them 585
upon the bales of *gnatoo;* after which he commenced 177
a dance on the *malai* with the young
chiefs, who had put on turbans. This dance
was also after the manner of the Navigator's
islands, and seemed to afford the people much
entertainment: in Mr. Mariner's opinion, there
was not so great an exhibition of agility as in
their own dances, but equally as much grace,
and somewhat more attitude. In the mean 634
time the brides were conducted to the residence 585
of the bridegroom. The dance being concluded, 574
the provisions were shared out: the
two larger portions were allotted, by Finow's
orders, to the new comers, (to be disposed of
afterwards as they thought proper): the next
largest was shared out to all foreigners, viz. natives
of Fiji, Hamoa, the island of Fotoona,
&c.; and the remaining heap, at an appointed
signal, was scrambled for by all who chose to
try their speed and dexterity. This last scene
afforded great diversion to all the spectators.
The baked pig on the top of the heap was soon
brought down, and pulled about in a most miserable
way; being torn piece-meal, and so covered
with sand and dirt as to be quite uneatable.
The ceremony was now concluded by a 634
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669 sign the government of the Hapai islands to
728 Toobó Tóa, who was to send him annual tri-
[634] bute.

When the cava was finished the company rose up, and the Vavaoo party returned to Felletoa, to prepare an entertainment for the Hapai people the following day.

634 Early the next morning all the chiefs, mata-
669 booles, and warriors of Neafoo, painted and de-
728 corated themselves with streamers, and put on
541 mats, in token of Finow's inferiority as a rela-
[292] tion to his aunt Toe Oomoo, chief of the for-
[301] tress of Felletoa. They took spears in their
[604] hands, and, thus equipped, marched out of
[431] Neafoo, two and two, with Finow at their head,
carrying with them presents for their relations
634 in the opposite garrison. In this order they
669 entered Felletoa, and proceeded to the *malái*,
where all the chiefs and matabooles of Toe
728 Oomoo were seated ready to receive them. A
604 quantity of hogs, yams, and fowls, were depo-
sited in the middle of the circle, at the upper
end of which a place was left vacant for the
king to preside in, for, his aunt not being there,
[276] he was the greatest chief present. Had Toe
[574] Oomoo been also present, she must have pre-
sided, at the head of the circle, and the king,
as her inferior relation, must have seated him-
self opposite to her, on the outside of the cir-

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cle, among the common people; for no two relations 634
of different rank can sit in the same circle 669
together[*]. On this account, and out of 728
respect to Finow, he being sovereign, Toe 604
Oomoo did not make her appearance. Finow 276
being seated, his men, as they came in, deposited 574
their spears in the middle of the circle,
to be afterwards shared out in the same manner
as was done by the Vavaoo people at Neafoo 669
the day before; they then retired to the outside 728
of the circle, ready to wait upon the company. 276
A large root of cava was then split into 574
pieces, and distributed to be chewed as usual. [431]
While the cava was preparing, the provisions
were shared out, ready to be eaten after the
cava was drunk. This being done, and the 634
provisions consumed, a second course of cava
was prepared and served out, of which Finow 604
having drunk a small quantity, retired to pay a 728
visit to his aunt. When he arrived in her presence 669
he went up to her, and, with great respect,
kissed her hand, and she, in return,
kissed his forehead[†]. He then sat down to [276]

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[*] An accurate and full description of the ceremonious regulations of a cava party will be given in the second volume.

[†] When a person salutes a superior relation, he kisses the [576]
hand of the party; if a very superior relation, he kisses the foot: the superior in return kisses the forehead. There may be some doubt as to the propriety of the term *to kiss* in this ceremony, for it is not performed by the lips after our

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[537]

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Finow, having finished his speech, arose and went to his house, accompanied by the sons of his chiefs and matabooles, who, together with his warriors, formed his retinue. After a repast, provided beforehand*, he again made an address, but in a more familiar and conversational way, on the advantages of cultivating land for one's own food, and eating the produce of one's own labour; and to strengthen his argument, he observed, that, hitherto in Tonga, it had been the custom for those who formed the retinue of chiefs to subsist on the provision which those chiefs thought proper to share out to them from their own store: and during the great famine (which happened many years before, while he was yet but a boy), he had remarked that more of these men (chiefs' dependents) had died than of the lower orders, who tilled the ground for their own support, as well as that of their chiefs, because they always found means to reserve food for themselves, however great might be the tax; while those who depended on the bounty of their chiefs got but a very scanty allowance. He then went on, "You do not know how much pleasure such

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* They often have cava parties where little is eaten, which was the case with that where he made the above speech; those who are fond of cava seldom eat much with it, conceiving that food destroys its genuine taste, and prevents its due effect upon the system.

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tions of the deceased chief, together with those who formed his household, and also the women who were *tabooed* by having touched his dead body, whilst oiling and preparing it, went to the back of the island (without any particular order or ceremony) to procure a number of flat pebbles, principally white, but a few black, for which they made baskets on the spot to carry them in as before mentioned, when they went to procure sand. With these they returned to the grave, and strewed the inside of the house with the white ones, and also the outside about the *fytoca*, as a decoration to it: the black pebbles they strewed only upon those white ones, which covered the ground directly over the body, to about the length and breadth of a man, in the form of a very eccentric ellipsis. [417] After this, the house over the *fytoca* was closed up at both ends with a reed fencing, reaching from the eaves to the ground, and, at the front and back, with a sort of basket-work, made of the young branches of the cocoa-nut tree, split and interwoven in a very curious and ornamental way, to remain till the next burial, when they are to be taken down, and, after the conclusion of the ceremony, new ones are to be put up in like manner. [574] [276] A large quantity of provisions was now sent to the *malái* by the chiefs of the different districts of the island,

ready prepared and cooked; and also a considerable 765
quantity prepared by Finow's own household: 634
among these provisions was a good supply 574
of cava root. After the chiefs, mataboolés, and 276
others, were all assembled, the provisions and
cava were served out in the usual way. During 765
this time no speech was made, nor did any particular 634
occurrence take place. The company
afterwards repaired each to his respective house, [537]
and got ready for a grand wrestling-match and [526]
entertainment of dancing the Meë too Buggi [535]
(literally, the dance, standing up with paddles.
See second volume.)

During the intervals of the dances, several 765
matabooles, warriors, and others, ran before the 634
grave, bruising and cutting their heads with 304
clubs, axes, &c., as proofs of their fidelity to the late chief: among them, two boys, one about twelve, the other about fourteen years of age (sons of matabooles), made themselves very conspicuous in this kind of self infliction; the youngest in particular, whose father was killed in the service of the late chief, during the great revolution at Tonga, after having given his head two or three hard knocks, ran up to the grave in a fit of enthusiasm, and dashing his club with all his force against the ground, exclaimed, "Finow! why should I attempt "thus to express my love and fidelity towards

diately from the gods, as visitations for their 784
crimes.

There is no public religious rite whatsoever, 276
and scarcely any in private, but of which the 574
ceremony of drinking cava forms a usual and
often a most important part; for which reason, 128
although cava is taken on other occasions several times daily, we shall endeavour to give a full description of its preparation and form of distribution, before we proceed to those ceremonies which are more strictly religious.

The root which they term cáva, and by 276
which name the plant producing it is also [192]
called, belongs to a species of the pepper plant: [197]
it is known by the same name at the Fiji islands;
but at the Navigator's islands, (which the Tonga
people also visit), at the Society islands, and
the Sandwich islands, it is universally called
ava. At all these places it is used for the same [171]
or similar purposes.

The state in which it is taken is that of infu- 276
sion: it is drunk every day by chiefs, mata- 574
booles, and others, as a luxury: the form of [565]
preparing and serving it out is the same, whether
at a large party or a small one: the greatest order is observed during the whole time, and the rank of persons is particularly attended to. The following description we shall suppose to be of some grand occasion, either religious or

276 574 political. At all cava parties, provisions are also shared out; but the habitual cava drinkers seldom eat more than a mouthful, and this they do to prevent the infusion, when drunk in large quantities, from affecting the stomach with nausea; but there are a few who will not even use this precaution. When the party is very large, it is held on a *málai*, for the sake of room; the chief who presides sitting within the eaves of the house. The time of the day is indifferent: small cava parties are frequently held by torch-light; but for religious ceremonies, whether of large or small parties, mostly in the
[562] morning. Women of rank never attend large
[565] public cava parties.

In the first place, we shall endeavour to de-
276 scribe the form and order in which the com-
574 pany and attendants sit. The chief who pre-
565 sides, and who is always the greatest chief present, sits about two feet, or perhaps three, within the eaves of the house*, on the matting which constitutes the flooring, with his face towards the open malái, into which the circle on either side extends. On his right and left hand sits a mataboole: both these order and arrange the ceremonies alternately in the manner directly to be shewn, and whom, for the

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[342] * It must be recollected, their houses are rather of an oval form, closed at the two ends and open in the front and back, the eaves coming within about four feet of the ground.

sake of distinction, we shall call presiding matabooles. 276 On the lower hand of either of them 574 sits the next greatest chief present, and another, 565 who may be his equal or a little inferior to him, on the opposite side, near the other mataboole: after these, come other chiefs, matabooles, and mooas, sitting more or less according to their rank; for as it frequently happens that the higher chiefs are not the first that come, the places due to their rank are found occupied by persons inferior to them, and rather than disturb the company, they take their seats a little out of the proper order; but for a general rule, the higher chiefs sit towards the top; for it is not so much in the order of sitting that their rank is paid respect to, as in the order of their being served, which is done with the most scrupulous exactness. It is the characteristic of a mataboole, to know how to serve out cava and provisions according to the rank of individuals, so as not to give offence. Thus, the ring extends itself on either hand of the presiding chief, but it is in general not an exact circle, the greatest diameter dividing the top from the bottom, which last is rather less curved than the top. About one third of the ring which constitutes the bottom, is generally occupied by the young chiefs and sons of matabooles belonging to the chief who presides; and in the mid-

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276 dle of these, exactly opposite the chief, sits the
574 man who is to mix and prepare the cava after it
is chewed: he is generally a mooa, tooa, or
565 cook, though sometimes a chief; at any rate, he must be able to perform his task, which is not an easy one at large parties, with strength, dexterity, and grace. Behind those at the bottom of the ring, sits the body of the people, which, on extraordinary occasions, may consist of three or four thousand individuals, chiefly men; the number of women being comparatively small. If either of the presiding matabooles now discovers any person of rank sitting much below the place he ought to occupy, he desires the individual who sits in that place to change situations with him; or if he sees a chief coming after the ring is formed, he orders one of those who is seated to get up and retire, and he calls out to the chief by his name, saying, "here is a place for you."

Before we go further, we must make an important distinction between what we have here called the bottom and the rest of the ring: the latter, beginning with the chief, and advancing onwards on either side, constituting about two thirds of the whole ring, consists of but a single row of individuals, and this, for the sake of distinction, we shall denominate the superior circle; the bottom, which may be considered only

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the front of the body of the people, we shall 276
name the inferior circle; and the body of the 574
people, who are closely seated together indiscriminately*, we shall call the exterior circle. 565
No person, though he be a chief of high rank, 276
can sit in the superior circle at the same time 574
that his father is there, (or any superior relation), 565
even though he be at a considerable distance; 561
and if he be already seated there, when his father comes, he must necessarily retire to the inferior or exterior circle, no matter which, out of respect to his superior relation: in either of the other circles, however, father and son may sit near to each other if they please; on this account, the superior circle is alone considered the true cava party; all the rest, both inferior and exterior, being rather to be considered attendants, and persons looking on, although several of them frequently obtain their share of provisions and cava, according to the quantity that there may be. From this circumstance, it happens, that the inferior ring is generally composed of the sons of those chiefs and matabooles, who belong to the presiding chief, (forming his *cow nofo*), and who are perhaps situated in the superior or true ring: from this cause it also often happens, that very great chiefs are seated

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* *i. e.* One row behind another, with their faces towards the chief.

276 in the exterior circle; it being thought no par-
574 ticular advantage to be in the inferior, unless
565 for those who wish to be assiduous in serving
561 out the cava, which is an honourable office.
During the late king's life, his son, the present king, usually sat in the inferior or exterior circle, and assisted in chewing the root and serving it out.

The company being thus all arranged, the
276 provisions, if they have not been already brought, are now fetched by the cooks belonging to the chief at the head of the company, and who do this without receiving any orders. If the cava is not already brought, one of the presiding matabooles perhaps calls out to one of the cooks in the exterior ring, who immediately rises and advances through the inferior ring towards the mataboole, and, sitting down before him, receives orders to go to the chief's home, and fetch such a root or such a quantity of cava: when he returns he enters the ring as before, through the inferior circle, bearing the cava root in his arms: if the provisions are coming in at the same time, the man with the cava advances at the head, amidst the thanks of the company, and proceeds close up to the chief and sits down, laying the cava root before him: the provisions are placed about eight or ten paces off, on the ground, when the cooks

276 through the whole liquid as not to be thus
separated *.

276 During the above operation, various people
in the exterior circle are employed making cava
574 cups of the unexpanded leaf of the banana tree,
415 which is cut into lengths of about nine inches,
each piece being then unfolded is nearly square;
the two ends are next plaited up in a particular
manner, and tied with a fibre of the stem of the
leaf, forming a very elegant cup, not unworthy
of imitation. These leaves are provided beforehand,
as well as the water, the bowl, &c. by the
-276 cooks. Sometimes it happens that there is not
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[555] * No man undertakes to perform this operation at a large
party but who has been well practised on smaller occasions:
for it is considered a great accomplishment, even worthy of a
chief: but a failure on such an occasion would look very
bad: Mr. Mariner, however, never witnessed one. The cava
dregs which have been thus put aside are afterwards taken
away by the cooks, and chewed over again to make fresh in-
[515] fusion for themselves. The disgusted reader will here per-
haps call to mind the assertion we have formerly made, that
[264] no nation can excel the Tonga people in personal cleanliness,
and will regret that they are not equally clean in their food. If
this objection were made to a native, he would say, "it is
"not indeed very cleanly, for we would not eat a piece of
"yam which another had bitten; but chewing the cava is an
"ancient practice, and we think nothing of it: but what,"
he will perhaps add, "can be more filthy and disgusting
"than the Papalangi practice of drinking the milk of a beast,
"and giving it to your children for food?"—Every country
has its customs.

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water enough, in which case off starts some one 276 from the exterior circle to fetch more, running 574 as if it were for his life, and twenty more after him, each anxious to shew his readiness in arriving first with the water: in a short time, if these do not return, twenty or thirty more will rush off with equal swiftness: presently after they are seen coming back, forty or fifty in number, at full speed, with three or four cocoa nutshells of water; or if any thing else is wanted, it is fetched in the same prompt way.

In the meanwhile, also, the *fono*, or provisions to be eaten with the cava, is shared out. This generally consists of yams, ripe bananas, or plantains, in sufficient quantity that each in the superior circle may have a small portion to eat after his dish of cava. The mataboole calls out for somebody to come and divide the *fono*: a couple generally advance forward and proceed to make the division. A large portion is first separated, and presented to the presiding chief, by laying it before him; this being done, the mataboole orders the remainder to be divided equally between the two sides, left and right, of the superior circle; each person has consequently a portion presented to him in the order in which he sits. This operation takes up about three or four minutes, and is per-

276 formed quietly, when the man at the bowl be-
514 gins to wring out the cava.

The infusion of cava being now strained, the performance of which generally occupies about a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes, the man at the bowl calls out *gooa ma he cavane*, the cava is clear: the mataboole replies, *fucca tow*, squeeze out, alluding to the peculiar operation of filling the cups. Two or three from the inferior or exterior circle now come forward and sit down near the bowl, bringing with them and placing on the ground several of the cups: one then rises and holds with both hands a cup to be filled, standing a little on one side, and holding the cup over the middle of the bowl, so that his body does not obstruct the view of those at the top of the superior circle. The man who manages the bowl fills the cup by dipping in a portion of *fow* rolled together, and which, when replete with the liquid, he holds over the cup, compressing it so that the infusion falls into it, to the quantity of about the third of a pint. The one who has the cup now turns and stands a little on one side, with his face towards the chief: at the same time one of those who have been described, sitting by the side of the bowl and employed fanning it, cries out with a loud voice, *cava gooa heca*, the cava is deposited (i. e. in the cup): the mataboole replies, *angi ma*

——, give it to ——, naming the party who is to have it, who, hearing his name announced, claps the hollow part of his hands together twice (unless it be the presiding chief), to signify whereabout he is seated: the cup-bearer then advances and presents it standing, unless it be to a great chief at Tooitonga's cava party, when he presents it sitting. 276 574

We must now describe the order in which the different individuals in the company are served, which is a most important part of the ceremony, and requires all the attention of the presiding mataboole. It must be noticed as a general rule, that the chief at the head of the circle receives either the first or third cup; the third cup, however, is properly his due: the first, according to old established custom, the mataboole orders to be given to his fellow mataboole on the other side of the chief, unless there be a chief or mataboole from another island in company; it is then given to him, as being a visitor. If there be a person in the circle who has made a present of the cava, the first cup is given in compliment to him. But supposing that the cava was not a present, and there are two or more visitors in company of about equal rank, and the mataboole is in doubt which of them ought to have it, to avoid giving offence he orders it to be given to the presiding 276 574 576

276 chief; and this is the only case in which the
574 chief at the head of the company gets the first
cup; the other mataboole then receives the
576 second, the third falls to the lot of the chief next in rank to the president, and so on, without farther hesitation, to every one according to his rank. So that the president either has the first or third cup, and the mataboole who is not giving directions either has the first or second cup: but to render this important piece of Tonga ceremony more clear, we shall suppose the several possible instances, and state the order of the service in each. The person whom we here call the mataboole is one of those two sitting by the side of the president, and who is not actually giving directions; for one mataboole only regulates the serving out of each bowl; and if the bowl is filled a second time, the other mataboole directs the ceremonies, and so on alternately.

1st. Where the cava is a present, and the giver is in company, the order is thus: the giver; the mataboole; the president.

2d. The cava not being a present, or the giver not in company, but there being a visitor, thus: the visitor; the mataboole; the president.

3d. There being two or more visitors of nearly

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equal rank, and the master of the ceremonies 276
not knowing how to choose without giving 574
offence, thus: the president; the mataboole; 576
the chief next below the president in rank.

4th. There being no visitor present, thus: the mataboole; the chief next in rank to the president; the president.

Hence it will appear that the giver of the cava, in those instances where it is a present, has the first cup, in preference to any body else; at least this is generally the case, unless there be a visitor present, who is evidently superior in rank to him: on such an occasion the visitor would be preferred to the giver, and the mataboole would have the second, the president the third, and the giver would not obtain any till it came in the usual way to his turn according to his rank. If it be doubtful whether the giver or the visitor ought to have the preference, then, to avoid giving offence, the president gets it. So that in all cases the principal difficulty is in the disposal of the first three cups; all the remainder being served out according to rank. If in the course of serving it out there be two persons of equal rank, the one sitting nearest the chief will be supplied first.

At large cava parties very few, in proportion to the immense multitude present, get served

276 574 576 with this infusion; but there must always be enough for the superior circle, and for their relations who may be either in the inferior or exterior: which latter, who, for reasons before given, do not sit in the upper circle, are served nevertheless in the order of their rank, or nearly so. One thing more is to be observed; viz. when a cup of cava is announced to be given to a person whose superior relation is present, that superior relation has a right to counter-order it, which he does by calling out, "give it to ——," mentioning the name of some individual whom he chooses should have it in preference to his inferior relation; and this is often done.

276 574 When the bowl is emptied, if the chief thinks proper, he orders another to be got ready; or if any person in company sends away for some cava root, to make a present of it to the chief, a fresh quantity must be prepared; but the president himself often sends away for a second, a third, and even a fourth supply of cava root. Each bowl must be served round as long as it will last: when the individuals of the superior circle, and the persons related to them, are served, if any remains, it is given out to others in the inferior and exterior circles; no person receiving two cups out of the same bowl. When a second bowl is filled, it is served out the same as the first, i. e. not beginning where the first

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left off, but commencing and going on with the 276
same individuals as if it were the first bowl; 574
the third in the like manner, &c. Every bowl [262]
is provided with a fresh quantity of *fono*, or victuals [264]
to be eaten with the cava, and which are
shared out in the same way as before: these generally consist of yams, bananas, or plantains, but sometimes a baked pig is brought, in which case the liver and a yam is the portion presented to the chief; if fowls are brought, the skin of the throat, and the rump, are the president's share. If, before the conclusion, any one in the superior circle wishes to leave, he says to the chief, *Iky' teoo mow cava*, I cannot provide cava; and, with this apology, he leaves: or, if he has actually provided cava, he has only to state some reason for his leaving the company, such as going to another island, or to superintend some work.

It has been noticed, that there are two matabooles, 276
one on each side of the president, 574
who direct the ceremonies; but it must be 565
mentioned, that only one of them regulates the preparation and sharing out of each bowl: i. e. one regulates the first bowl, and the other the second, and so on alternately. They generally sit close to the chief, except when Tooitonga presides, and then there is an intervening space, between him and them, of about six feet, or ra-

276 ther more. No chief comes to an inferior
574 chief's cava party, or, if any extraordinary cir-
565 cumstance was to make this necessary, the in-
ferior would be obliged to retire to his own ex-
276 terior circle, and the superior visitor would pre-
574 side: for the greatest chief present must always
565 preside, unless there be an inspired priest, then
576 *he* sits at the head of the circle, and the greatest
[793] chief in company, who would otherwise have
[787] that honourable situation, now retires, with
other chiefs, to the exterior circle, not out of
respect to the priest, who may be only a mooa,
but out of veneration to the god supposed to
exist within him; so that the superior circle, in
such a case, consists principally of mataboolcs
and mooas; for chiefs may be looked upon as
distant relations to the gods, and no person
may sit in the upper circle along with his supe-
rior relation; besides it is an act of humility
[796] demonstrating great respect. When a priest
presides, which is the case at all religious ce-
remonies, except where they are consulting
a god who has no priest*, the latter always

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* When a god has no priest, as Tali-y-Tooboó, for instance,
[776] no person actually presides at the head of his cava circle, the
place being left apparently vacant, but which, it is supposed,
[778] the god invisibly occupies. On such occasions the cava
party is always held before the house consecrated to the god:
(as in the commencement of the illness of Finow's daughter.)
And they go through the usual form of words, as if the first

has the first cup; the presiding mataboole, 276
not actually officiating, has the second; the 574
third, fourth, fifth, and perhaps sixth cups, are 565
given to the next higher persons in the superior 576
circle; and then the chiefs who have retired to 796
the exterior circle are, out of respect, helped;
but this rests at the option of the officiating
mataboole; afterwards the remainder of the
superior circle are served.

At smaller cava parties, the forms and words 276
of ceremony are precisely the same; but when 574
a priest does not preside, familiar conversation,
and even joke and merriment, are indulged
in. On all occasions every individual pays the [291]
greatest attention to his dress, that it be decorous
and well tied on, that is, with neatness*.

We have been particular in the description of 796
the ceremony of preparing and drinking this in- 128

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cup was actually filled and presented to the god: thus, [776]
before any cup is filled, the man by the side of the bowl says, [778]
Cava gooa héca, The cava is deposited (in the cup): the mataboole answers, *Angi ma ho egi,* Give it to your god; but this is mere form, for there is no cup filled for the god.

* Some of our readers will perhaps find some difficulty in believing this, but nothing is more true than that the Tonga people of any degree of rank are very particular in regard of their personal cleanliness and neatness of dress; insomuch that a man will often refuse to join a neighbouring cava party, because the *gnatoo* which he happens to have on may not be so new or so good as he could wish.

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276 fusion, because it sets in so strong a light the
574 manners and customs of the people, and be-
796 cause it so frequently accompanies almost every
128 kind of religious ceremony. It is not pretended, however, that drinking cava is essential to every religious ceremony, or to most of them, but that it is the custom to take it generally on such occasions. These religious ceremonies we shall now describe, and shall take them nearly in the order in which, by the natives, they are considered of most importance, or most sacred; viz. *Inachi; Fúccaláhi; cáva fúcca egi; Towtow; Nangía; Tootooníma; Boòtoo; Langi; Taboo; Fóta; Mòë-mòë; toògoo cava.*

Although the ceremony of *inachi* was entirely
651 abrogated by Finow just before Mr. Mariner
796 left Vavaoo, we place it first in rank, because it
[634] always used to be considered of the utmost importance before it was done away with; besides which, it was a ceremony which affected the property of every individual in Vavaoo, and al the Hapai islands, and formerly in the island of Tonga also.

INACHI. This word means, literally, a share
[642] or portion of any thing that is to be or has been distributed out: but in the sense here mentioned it means that portion of the fruits of the earth, and other eatables, which is offered to the gods in the person of the divine chief Tooitonga, which

which his servants, without farther orders, take 651
away to his house, and the remainder is taken 796
away by Tooitonga's servants. It may seem [776]
strange that the latter has a smaller share than [793]
the king, but then he has not a quarter the number [643]
of dependents to divide it among.

The materials of the *Inachi* being removed,
the company form a regular cava party: some 651
cava root is brought and prepared, and a large 796
quantity of dressed victuals, perhaps a hundred 276
and fifty baskets-full; a small portion of which 574
is shared out to be eaten with the cava. While the infusion is preparing, a mataboole makes a speech to the people, stating, that as they have performed this important ceremony, the gods will protect them, and grant them long lives, provided they continue to pay due attention to religious ceremonies, and to pay respect to the chiefs. When the cava is finished, the circle separates, and the provisions are shared out to
each chief according to his rank. The day concludes 651
with wrestling, boxing, &c. after which 796
night dances commence. When these are ended, [526]
the people retire home, perfectly assured of the [535]
protection of the gods.

At this ceremony, the quantity of provisions 651
shared out is incredible; the people, there- 796
fore, look upon it as a very heavy tribute, 574
though in fact the owners of the plantations

651 (chiefs, matabooles, &c.) are at the expense of
796 it; yet as there is much more provided than
574 what is eaten, it helps to increase the scarcity if the season should not be abundant: but it is so much the custom at Tonga to make liberal and profuse presents, that the people generally either feast or starve. Sometimes it happens that several great feasts are given nearly about the same time; as for instance, the occasion of the Inachi; the arrival of some chief from a distant island, after a long absence; the marriage or death of some great chief, as of Tooi-
[261] tonga himself, &c. These feasts threaten a
[784] scarcity; to prevent which, a *ta'boo* or prohibition is put upon several kinds of food, that they may not be eaten for a certain length of time, at the termination of which they perform the following ceremony, which takes off the *taboo*: a famine or war may also occasion a necessity for this *ta'boo* to be imposed.

796 FUCCALAHI, i. e. to make all at large or free again; or to take off a restriction. As the mode
796 of performing this ceremony has already been
276 described, (see Vol. I. p. 120.) and the particular objects of it mentioned, (p. 113, same vol.) nothing farther need now be said upon the subject, except that it is generally concluded
[574] with a cava party.

[793] [787] CAVA FUCCA EGI: this consists in a cava

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party, where an inspired priest sits at the head; 796
the circumstances of inspiration we have already 276
related, (Vol. I. p. 99.) and the form of serving [574]
out the cava when a priest presides, (Vol. II. [793]
p. 194.) The phrase *cava fucca egi* means literally, [787]
a god-like cava. Laying a small piece of
cava root before the grave of a chief or consecrated [769]
house, out of respect to a god, or to a deceased relation, is called *toogoo cava*, and will be mentioned in its proper order.

Tow-tow is an offering of yams, cocoa-nuts, 796
and other vegetable productions to A'lo A'lo 782
(the god of weather) in particular, and to all [821]
the gods in general, for the purpose of ensuring
a continuation of favourable weather, and consequent [776]
fertility. This ceremony is first performed at the time when the yams are approaching maturity, in the early part of November, and is repeated every ten days for seven or eight times. On the day appointed by the priest of A'lo A'lo, every plantation on the three parts of the island, viz. the *hahagi*, *mooa*, and *hihifo** districts provide a certain quantity of yams, cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, bananas, plantains, &c. all which are brought to the *malái*, tied upon sticks, so that each stick, when held horizontally, has

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* *Hahagi* is the north end of any island; *hihifo* the south [823]
end: the *mooa* part of the island being the centre. [192]
[103]

CHAPTER XXIII.

General habits of chiefs, matabooles, mooas, women and 000
children—Quotation from Cook's Voyages, affording a very correct view of their public festivals and rejoicings in honour of illustrious visitors, and describing very accurately their boxing and wrestling matches, and sundry dances: the whole including a point of time when Captain Cook and his companions were to have been assassinated by the natives—An account of their different dances and songs—Specimen of their songs in rhyme—Specimens of their music—An account of their various sports and games—The pastimes of a day, with an account of an extraordinary character—Conclusion.

Under the head of religion, we have given a 128
cursory view of the general habits of Tooitonga, Veachí, and the priests: we shall now set forth, in a similar manner, those of the rest of society, as they regard chiefs, matabooles, mooas, tooas, women and children.

Respecting the general habits of chiefs, ma- 565
tabooles, and mooas; the higher chiefs seldom 571
if ever associate freely together, unless at the 276
morning cava parties, and those meetings are 574
to be considered, in a great measure, as visits of
custom and form. The matabooles and mooas [576]

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565 freely associate with the chiefs to whom they
571 belong; they are their necessary attendants at
276 cava parties, &c. and form the bulk of their
574 fighting men and followers: they not only asso-
576 ciate freely with one another, but also with the
followers of other high chiefs, and even with those high chiefs themselves, without any reserve, excepting the requisite ceremonies of respect which occasion may require.

Every high or governing chief has his *cow
565 nofo* (those who settle or dwell with him), or,
621 as they are sometimes called, *cow-mea* (adhe-
622 rents), who consist of inferior chiefs and mata-
624 booles: each of these inferior chiefs has his
[701] *cow-tangata*, or body of fighting men, consisting
chiefly of mooas: the matabooles have no *cow-tangata*. The retinue, or *cow-nofo*, of a great chief, therefore, consists of inferior chiefs (with their *cow-tangatas*) and matabooles; and the retinue or *cow-tangata* of an inferior chief consists of mooas, and perhaps, also, a few tooas,
[361] who have been found brave fellows. A great
number of these *cow-nofo*, perhaps about eighty or ninety, actually dwell in and near the superior chief's fencing (each fencing having many houses), whilst there are many others who sleep and pass a great portion of their time at their own plantations; for not only inferior chiefs, but also matabooles and mooas, have plantations

concealed by the folds that go round the waist. 291
There is some little difference in the way in 512
which females adjust their *gnatoos*, but the
chief distinction of their dress is a small mat [*],
which they wear round the middle, and is about
a foot in breadth. Pregnant women, and old
women, wear their dress in front so as to cover
the breasts. Children are not encumbered
with dress when at home till they are about two
years old: when they go out, they have a piece
of *gnatoo* wrapped round them.

Having bathed, oiled, and dressed themselves, 512
the chiefs hold cava parties, at which 276
women seldom attend, for as they are no great 574
cava drinkers, they generally form a circle of [562]
their own, and eat a meal; they take cava,
however, at the same time, in a small quantity;
whilst the men, on the contrary, take a large
quantity of cava, and most of them very little
food, as they generally eat a hearty meal about
the middle of the day. The morning cava party
usually lasts from two to five hours, according to
the pleasure of the chiefs. After cava, the old 512
men generally retire to their houses to sleep, or 484
to amuse themselves with farther conversation. 517
The younger ones follow the example or wishes
of their superior chiefs, and make an excursion

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[*] It would be considered highly indecorous and contrary to the táboo for females to appear without this mat.

his possessions, and in the most earnest manner 103
entreated him to accept of something. Being 571
thus strongly pressed, the moderate Tootáwi 173
chose a wearing-mat of the kind called *giē fow* *, 292
and this was the only article that the eloquence
and kindness of Finow could persuade him to accept of. The king left him with sentiments of admiration, and shortly after confirmed the orders that had been formerly given to prevent any body molesting him.

Thus lived Tootáwi for some three or four years afterwards; but one day he was found lying on the ground, stretched out dead within his cave.

But to return to our subject; about mid-day 512
it is usual to have another meal, when the 264
chiefs receive a number of presents, of different 431
kinds of provisions, from their dependents or 574
friends, which the matabooles share out. In 521
the afternoon some again join in conversation, 224
others go out shooting rats, &c. In the evening they have dancing and singing, which is 512
often continued till very late at night, on which 535
occasion they burn torches, each being held by 533
a man, who, after a time, is relieved by another. 372
These dances are generally kept up for about
four hours after dark. When no dances are 512
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372
357

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* A certain kind of wearing-mat used chiefly in canoes, as it is not liable to be injured by sea-water. See p. 280.

512 proposed, they retire to rest at sun-set, after
513 bathing and oiling themselves, and even on
372 these occasions the houses are lighted up with
357 torches, during two, three, or four hours after
dark: these torches are held by female domestics.
It cannot be strictly said that they have
574 any fixed times for meals, though it generally
264 happens to be in the morning, about noon, and
431 again in the evening; but it depends greatly
565 upon how the chiefs are occupied, or what pre-
562 sents have been made to them: it frequently
609 occurs that several presents come at the same
time from different quarters; then they have a feast: but whatever they have, whether much or little, it is always shared out to all present, each having a portion according to his rank: strangers and females generally obtain somewhat more than is due to their rank. Those who get more than they want never fail to supply others who have not enough: selfishness is a very rare quality among them: if a man has a piece of yam, though it be not enough for a meal, he will readily give half away to any one who may want it; and if any body else comes afterwards in like need, with the greatest good nature he will give half the remainder; scarcely saving himself any, though he may be very hungry.

757 If during the day a chief, mataboole, or
565 mooa, but particularly a chief, finds himself fa-

the pigeon's head, was Tui Tonga. The brother of Kauulufonuafekai, 643
Moungamotua, was appointed Tui Haatakalaua (*tui*, king; *haa*, family; 173
Takalaua, his father's name) and he went and lived at "Kauhalalalo" in Fonuamotu near Loamanu (at Mua, Tongatabu), in order to rule from there the land. And he was to be called Tui Haatakalaua. Moungamotua was the first Tui Haatakalaua, the brother of Kauulufonuafekai, the Tui Tonga.

Kauulufonuafekai was the first to arrange that the *apaapa*, or master [276]
of ceremonies in the kava ring, should sit at a distance, not near to him, [574]
because he was afraid of being murdered, as his father, the Tui Tonga Takalaua, was murdered. Therefore the kava ring was formed so that the people in it sat at a distance from the chief. He instructed some of his brothers to sit at his back to guard him lest he should be murdered. The name given to those brothers that sat behind him, was *huhueiki* (*huhu*, to suspect; *eiki*, chief).

Another Tui Tonga was Vakafuhu; another was Puipuifatu; another was called Kauulufonua; another Tui Tonga was Tapuosi I., and another Tui Tonga was Uluakimata I., (Telea). His vessel was called Lomipeau (*lomi*, keep under; *peau*, waves). That was the ship that often went to Uea to cut and load stones for the terraces (*paepae*) of the royal tombs. Paepae o Telea is the name of the grave yard of the Tui Tonga Telea. Fatafehi he was the son of Telea; his mother was Mataukipa. Another Tui Tonga was Tapuosi II., and another Tui Tonga was Uluakimata II. His sons were the Tui Tonga Tui Pulotu I. and his brother, Tokemoana. The latter was appointed Tui Haauluakimata (*tui*, ruler; *haa*, family; Uluakimata, his father's name). Their sister Sinaitakala, was the female Tui Tonga; Fatani was their brother, also Faleafu, all of one father.

The son of Tui Pulotu was Fakanaanaa and he was Tui Tonga; another Tui Tonga was Tui Pulotu II.; and another Tui Tonga was Maulupekotofa. The son of Pau was Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, and the son of Fuanunuiava was Laufilitonga, the Tui Tonga that is alive in the world. That is the end of the Tui Tonga. The old Tui Tonga, the offspring of the Worm, are gone. The list of female Tui Tonga is not given, but only the list of the male Tui Tonga.

Here are their names in order: (1) Ahoeitu, (2) Lolofakangalo, (3) Fangaoneone, (4) Lihau, (5) Kofutu, (6) Kaloa, (7) Mauhau, (8) Apuanea, (9) Afulunga, (10) Momo, (11) Tuitatui, (12) Talaatama, (13) Tui Tonga Nui Tama Tou, (14) Talaihaapepe, (15) Talakaifaiki, (16) Talafapite, (17) Tui Tonga Maakatoe, (18) Tui Tonga i Puipui, (19) Havea I., (20) Tatafueikimeimua, (21) Lomiaetupua, (22) Havea II., (23) Takalaua, (24) Kauulufonuafekai, (25) Vakafuhu, (26) Puipuifatu,

that they moved from Heketa to Fangalongonoa and lived there. They 539
named the new place of residence Mua and they took their boats there. 173
The name of one boat was "Akiheuho" and the name of the other was 643
"Tongafuesia." Thus the living of the Tui Tonga at Mua began with the [644]
time of Talaatama and Talaihaapepe, the sons of Tuitatui. [361]

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME TUITATUI[39]

There was a Tui Tonga named Tuitatui, who was so named because the kava maker of early days did not sit in the same fashion as nowadays, but sat in the center of the ring of chiefs. The chiefs were encircled by the people, which made the assassination of the Tui Tonga quite easy. But this Tui Tonga, when at a kava party and surrounded by the people, had a very long stick with which he used to beat the knees of anyone who came
too close to him. This made them move away and keep at a distance from [276]
him, and they called him Tuitatui (*tui*, king; *ta*, to strike; *tui*, the knee) [574]
and since that time the kava circle has been arranged as he made it.

TUITATUI AND THE MAIDEN[40]

Ko Tuitatui, koe Tui Tonga, nae eiki, pea ngeia, pea manavahe ai ae kakai oe otu fonua ni.

Ko Tuitatui, eni nae alu ene aalo ki Halakakala, pea akemai one iloi ae fefine oku hekeheka i he tualiku o Eueiki, kae fakataupe a hono vae ki tahi; o iloi ai e Tuitatui, moe ongo tangata. Koe iloi tokua e he tangata nae nofoa mua, pea ne pehe ange: "Ongo tamani, mo mate eku tupua." Pea na pehe mai: "Koeha?" Pea pehe e he tangata: "Ko eku tupua, koe kalia, oku langolango i he tuahilu o Haakame." Pea na matei ae tupua, pea ikai ke na ilo, pea toki tala e he tangata, one pehe: "Ko eku tupua eni; mo sio ange ae vaei fefine, koeni oku fakataupe ki taki, ka oku hekeheka, i he vaafau, kae mama ae konga tahi, nae feounga moia." Pea nau sio kotoa ki ai, ka nae alo mui a Tuitatui, pea lea mai: "Ongo tama, tau ange mo kimoua, ke mo aalo vave, ke tau ilo ape, koe mama, pe koe tevolo."

Tuitatui, the Tui Tonga, was chief, and terrible, and feared by all the people of the groups of islands.

Tuitatui went in a canoe to Halakakala, and approaching the shore he saw a woman sitting on the weather shore of Eueiki, and dangling her legs into the sea; and Tuitatui and his two men saw her. She was seen first, it is said, by the man that sat in front, and he said: "You two lads, guess my riddle." And they said, "What is it?" And the man answered: "My riddle is this, the double-boat is raised on the weather shore of Haakame." And they tried to guess the riddle, but failed. Then the man told them: "This is my riddle; you see there the legs of a woman, that are hanging into the sea, but she is sitting, on the branch of the fau (hibiscus) tree, while there is a light on the sea, opposite her." And they all looked. But Tuitatui was paddling in the stern, and he spoke: "You two lads, it is with you, to paddle quickly, for us to discover if it is human, or a spirit."

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[39] From the original Tongan of a manuscript in the possession of John Panuve Maatu. Translated by Alphonse J. Gaffney.

[40] From the original Tongan of a manuscript written by the late Elia Malupo, an attendant (*matapule*), made available through the courtesy of Her Majesty Charlotte Tupou the Queen of Tonga and His Highness William Tungi the Prince Consort. All of Malupo's tales were copied from an early account written by Romano Tongavalevale and corrected by the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker [127]

539 The Tui Tonga and his people came to the beach and feasted with the Felemea people. The marriage of Sisimatailaa and Fatafehi was celebrated and then the couple sailed away to Fiji in a *tongiaki*, after receiving large quantities of food, mats, and other Tongan valuables as gifts. The fine mats known as *ngafingafi* were first made by Fataimoeloa, the mother of Sisimatailaa, and were worn with other mats about the waists of the present-bearers at the wedding.

During the festivities the Tui Tonga presided at the kava ring. He had his own people make the kava and he appointed the people of Felemea as ceremonial attendants (*matapule*). He placed them in the *alofi* (the kava ring), so that none had to make kava. The Tui Tonga did this because of the supernatural origin of the Felemea people from the sun's
[643] basket. Even today, when the Felemea people visit Queen Charlotte
[276] Tupou, the reigning Tui Kanokupolu, they sit in the kava ring, just as
[574] they did in the olden days when there was a Tui Tonga.

Fatafehi bore Sisimatailaa a son, who was named Fakatouio and who went to Felemea to live. His descendant, of the same name, lives in Felemea to-day.

TOKELAUMOETONGA, THE SON OF THE SUN AT KELEFESIA[97]

Fatafehi Lapaha was married to the Tui Tonga. After all of the feasting was over, the Tui Tonga said on that day: "We will go catching flying foxes." The bride and the chief women remained at home.

Hardly had the Tui Tonga and his party departed, when suddenly a small boat arrived bearing a man named Tokelaumoetonga. He was the son of two Samoan women [*sic*]. They had sailed from Samoa, but their boat had sunk. By dint of hard swimming they had managed to reach the islands of Kelefesia and Tonumea (in the Haapai group). The two women lived on these islands for some time. After a time they thought themselves to be pregnant and they wondered what had caused their interesting condition, for they were the only human beings on the islands. They agreed to turn their buttocks to the wind as a test, and after a time one of them really became pregnant and gave birth to a male child, who was named Tokelaumoetonga. He it was who went to the nuptials of the Tui Tonga and who wore his turban during the trip.

Upon his arrival at the residence of the Tui Tonga he found everyone asleep, except the Tui Tonga's bride who was awake. He seduced her. After he had done so, he gave her, as a gift, his turban which consisted of a fine Samoan mat. The girl, in return, gave him a girdle of red sennit.

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[97] Told by Mary Fifita, of Pangai, Lifuka island, Haapai.

538 Kava parties were sometimes entertained by rival poets. Such competition
evidently reached a high degree of development. It is said that
276 competitions in reciting (*po-sipi*), night of reciting, were stopped by the
574 Government in these latter days because of the feeling engendered. Sometimes
656 poets recited prepared compositions, but at other times they improvised.
The chief Tukuaho, a distinguished patron of the arts who died in the
538 latter part of the nineteenth century, is reported to have organized a contest
175 in poetry between a man from Vavau, a man from Nomuka, a man named
Siliva, and a woman from Hihifo. Each recited what had been prepared,
and then went on to improvise. The bards of Nomuka and Vavau came
to a stop without finishing properly; Siliva and the woman both finished
well, but Siliva was adjudged to have finished best and to have won.

A poet may recite (*laulau*) his own, or another's compositions or teach
538 them to bands of singers or dancers. Skillful bards were valued companions
of chiefs. Poets and storytellers sometimes spent the night with chiefs, to
amuse them should they be wakeful. A composition to amuse a chief at
night was called *tatoka* (literally, sleeping with). The "Weather coast of
Selenga" (p. 106) is so called.

The poems here presented have not been specially selected. They are
121 probably representative, certainly when taken with those published by Gifford
(21, 22). The prominence of the natural beauties of their homeland
among the subjects chosen by the bards has been noted by other writers,
and is at once apparent. Much of the poetry is topical. Mariner says,
(28, vol. 2, p. 217) "One of these songs describes the principal events during
Captain Cook's visit . . . . Another describes the visit of Admiral
d'Entrecasteaux. Another the revolution of Tonga, and the famous battle
that was there fought." So today notable events are chronicled by the
bards. Gifford (23) mentions a poem in his possession describing the
entrance of German war-vessels into Vavau Harbor at the time of the
ratification of the treaty between Germany and Tonga. Songs composed to
accompany dances on any important occasion contain numerous references
to events and persons connected with the celebrations. During a visit to
Niua Toputapu at a time when vigorous and successful measures were being
taken to cope with the great enemy of the coconut, the rhinoceros beetle,
which had lately made its way into that island, I found two songs in vogue
describing the efforts made to deal with the pest, and celebrating the care
and vigilance of the gentleman in charge, Mr. Michael Miller, Miki Mila
in the poems. The hunting for beetles, grubs, and larvae, and the boiling
of the grubs and larvae in a kerosene tin (*kapa kalasini*) syllables which,
however prosaic their meaning, are not to be despised for their rhythm,
124 were all celebrated by the muse. A member of the party with which I
visited the island was a very high chief, who stayed in the house next to

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 [823] [776] 19. Kanakana is a pool in Teekiu, western Tongatabu, where dwelt the god Tutula, or Haelefeke, who appeared in the octopus (*feke*). Besides the advice to Falepapalangi to go and find a pool and the trees as subjects of his verse, there seems to be the idea also of finding a god to be the patron of his muse.

[825] 20. For *ai* (almond tree), *vai* (water, pool) may be read as a variant, and instead of *ua* (two), *na* (there). Without knowing just what is referred to there is no way of choosing definitely between the various possible readings. The man may be represented as speaking to someone in Hihifo "who knows," and asking "Where is that almond tree, or pool that you people talk about?" or as asking "Where is the double almond tree, or double pool?" Two pools, or two trees, close together, would make a sufficiently conspicuous land-mark to be noted, and *ua* is probably the correct reading.

Pages 67-69. A poem of Falepapalangi

539 276 574 [565] 1. A chief sometimes gives his kava to someone of lower rank than himself, usually as a reward for services rendered. This bestows on the man to whom the kava is given the right to clap and have the cup brought to him when the chief's name is called. This privilege is transmitted from generation to generation. The hypothetical charge which Falepapalangi is considering is that of having brought to him in the kava ring a cup which has not been so given to him, a much more serious usurpation than merely draining off a cup of someone's else drink.

[465] [428] 539 2. Falepapalangi seems to claim having borne off the prize, probably against Mamaeaepoto on some specific occasion when the King was present. There is a possibility, however, that he refers to his poetical skill as a heaven-sent gift of the gods; Tangaloa is the lord of the heavens. It is in keeping with the spirit of Tongan poetry to consider all the possible meanings and allusions as more or less involved.

[776] 3. Kafoa and Talau are hills in Vavau. That the hills had fallen means that Vavau, in the person of Mamaeaepoto, had been defeated in poetical contest, and, as a Tongatabu man, Falepapalangi turns the tables on Mamaeaepoto's assertion that the Tongatabu poet has neglected the beauties of his own land to abuse the poet of Vavau. Falepapalangi contends that he, the Tongatabu poet, has not been unmindful of the claims of Vavau to commemoration; that his rival has mentioned to him places in Tongatabu that might be visited for poetical inspiration, and in his retort infers that he knows and is quite willing to celebrate Mamaeaepoto's land.

4. Meaning "We were in complete accord about the charms of Vavau."

[644] [192] 5. The king, the Tui Kanokupolu, and those connected with him, are called *haa moheofo*. Moheofo is the daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu, who was taken as the principal wife of the Tui Tonga. *Mohe* in *moheofo* is not the same root as *mohe*, sleep (compare with *moheofo*, the Samoan *masiofo*).

[644] 6. Pangai is the court of the Tui Kanokupulu, or the place where this king holds his court and great gatherings.

[192] 7. The word *liku-loto* is used of an inland place that is precipitous and has the appearance of the cliffs of the weather coast. It is proverbial for that which is not what it seems.

[192] 8. The term *faka-vavau* (Vavau fashion) is proverbial for talk that is boastful.

9. "Hiding and squeaking" is used of that which hides, but reveals its presence by noise. Here, apparently, it means lying low and uttering plaints hard to understand.

[524] 10. This metaphor is from the game of *lafo*. The raised edge of the mat on which the pieces are thrown is called *kaunahu;* players were able to make good use of this, as a billiard player makes use of the cushion. *Futa kaunahu* (pride in the raised edge) is pride over a successful shot due to the mat rather than to the player's ability. Hence it indicates boasting of what is due to extraneous circumstances rather than to skill. Evidently Falepapalangi refers to an occasion on which Mamaeaepoto has defeated him. Possibly the themes of the poets on that occasion were their native lands, and Falepapalangi means that Mamaeaepoto's victory was due to the scenic superiority of Vavau to Tongatabu rather than to the poet's skill.

[825] [776] 11. Perhaps a living dog, or perhaps merely a way of saying that the matter be left to one who is good at following up clues. A dog was prominently associated with the worship of the god Pulotukatoa in eastern Tongatabu.

12. The theft is Mamaeaepoto's claim to seamanship.

13. That is, the place where people sit and talk on deck, as distinguished from the working part of the ship. Falepapalangi says that Mamaeaepoto wants to leave the

64. **Namu ma ka nae ilo ahoa:** Smelling of bread but known by daylight. 539 262

The word translated "bread" indicates the fermented paste of the breadfruit and other plants. The fruits were buried in pits and kept for long periods. This fermented paste made up in little balls and cooked, is a nourishing and tasty food. Most strangers, however, are debarred from sampling it by the initial difficulty of overcoming their repugnance to this dainty's extremely gamey perfume, which is as objectionable to the European as some cheeses are to the Tongan. The expression originates in the story of the handsome man *(manaia)*, Vainuku of Eua. A certain Female Tui Tonga, went to Eua to see Vainuku, and on landing on the island sent one of her women to procure fire. In spite of his attractiveness Vainuku liked making up and cooking "bread," and the woman found him in the cookhouse engaged in preparing food for the recently arrived visitors. The woman pulled off Vainuku's turban, and seeing him with head uncovered knew who he was, for it was his hair that was his chief beauty. When night came Vainuku went to court the lady visitors, but they all cried out in disgust at the man smelling of "bread," until he came to the woman who had seen him in the cookhouse; she, having seen him by daylight, knew who he was. 252

65. **Nofo e fononga kae ui moa:** The visitors having no share, but calling fowls. 539 574

This indicates a man who calls the fowls, not to entertain his guests as he should, but for some other purpose.

66. **Ota fuifui vai:** Raw fish rinsed with (fresh) water. 539

Certain sorts of fish are often cut up and eaten raw. The flavor of such fish is most appreciated when they are rinsed with sea-water; they are held to be spoiled if fresh water is employed. This is spoiling a good thing by bad handling, and is applied to one who seeing something he likes, for example, an article or piece of work, tries to make one of the same sort for himself, but bungles it. He spoils a good pattern by his unskillfulness. 262 252

67. **Ota tae fuifui:** Raw fish not rinsed.

Raw fish is usually rinsed with sea-water before being eaten. This is used of a thing not properly done.

68. **Tae ngali vai:** Unfit (for) water, or perhaps unworthy (of) water. 539 262

This expression is used of one who has a good reputation and does something unworthy of himself. Literally this expression seems to refer to the eating of raw fish, as No. 67, and to the undesirability of preparing the fish with fresh water. A good fish spoiled by the wrong sort of water; and so a good person spoiled by the wrong sort of behavior. 252 829

539 252 264 **69. Paki ua uli taki taha vau:** Break in two—dirty. Each one scrape.

[574] Refers directly to food such as the yam which has been baked in the embers. Ordinarily the yam, for instance, when taken from the fire would first be scraped clean and then divided among those who are to eat it. This indicates that there must be haste. The yam taken from the fire is to be divided while the charred outside skin is still on, and each one will clean his piece for himself. One of the commonest motives urging to such haste would seem to be the apprehension that an unwelcome visitor will soon be coming to share in the meal. Generally of that which is to be done quickly.

539 252 **70. Poto hono fijifiji kae vale hono fokifokihi:** Skilled at its flipping but unskilled at its turning.

The Tongans flip cooking food with the nail of the fore-finger to test whether it is done or not. Food being cooked in the embers must be turned from time to time. The phrase indicates a man who does none of the work, is not willing to give the food a turn now and again, but is to the fore when it comes to finding out whether it is done or not. Obvious application to a lazy, greedy person.

539 262 [137] **71. Talia a umu kape:** Waiting for a meal of *kape (Arum costatum).*

At certain stages of its growth the *kape* is too pungent to be eaten. Hungry men, therefore, may wait for a meal of this root to be cooked only to find after all that they cannot eat it. So the expression is used of disappointed expectation.

539 252 262 251 **72. Teka a ma momoko:** Chucking cold *ma* about.

Ma, applied now to European bread, is the fermented fruit of certain plants, most commonly of the breadfruit, prepared by burying it in pits. This method of treatment, which is falling into almost complete disuse, was a very common and successful way of preserving a supply of food. Not only was the uncooked food thus kept for an indefinite length of time, but when cooked it remained good for a long period. One could throw it about anyhow and it still turned up good when wanted again. So of anything which, in spite of hard usage, is still good when wanted.

539 262 252 **73. Toki kovi a niu lelei:** Good nut is just bad.

Coconut is much used and highly esteemed in Tongan cookery. An article of food which cannot be rendered palatable by coconut must be very bad indeed. The upshot of cooking such a hopelessly unpalatable article with nut is that so much good coconut is merely wasted. Generally of that which is so extremely bad that contact with what is good cannot improve it, but the whole lot is wasted and spoiled.

[266] A story connected with this phrase is that the notorious cannibal Kaifakaau, who was alive at the time of the introduction of Christianity, once tried the experiment of cooking the genital organs of a woman with

86. Kai-aji fakatuha umu: Diner-out correspondent with food. 539

A man who keeps his eyes open and regulates his visits to other 574 people's homes to correspond well with the times when a meal is to be got. (Compare No. 187.)

87. Kai halafaki: Eating on the short-cut.

This is not a very satisfactory translation. The word *halafaki* means 539 264 to go round by some other track and wait on ahead for those who are coming along the ordinary road. As applied to eating the idea is to take food before the regular meal comes on, and thus to get ahead of others, waiting with satisfied hunger for them to catch up.

88. Kai malo ta-foa: Eating kindness that wounds. 539

Indicates a kindness that is spoiled by the way in which it is done, 431 as of one who makes a present of food to another but accompanies his 578 gift with unkind remarks. The recipient may eat the food but he is 576 wounded by what it said to him. So generally of apparent gratification with that which hurts.

89. Kai meakai kovi: Eat bad food. 539

Get into trouble, be in difficulties. 264 183

90. Kai mea vevela: Eat hot stuff, that is, to get into trouble.

91. Kai melie: Sweet food.

Used of that which is specially good, or of persons of unusual excellence. It is used of Goliath in the best translation of the Bible into Tongan (that of the late Dr. J. E. Moulton).

92. Kai umu aipe foi i he ngaue ae malohi: Coward ever eating food through the work of the strong. 539 264 571

One of those bitter plaints, common the world over, of one man doing the work and braving the danger whilst another reaps the benefits.

93. Kaikai afua: Eating delicately, with special likes and dislikes. 539 264 843

Especially refers to the desire of a pregnant woman for particular foods, and used proverbially of conduct like that of a pregnant woman, or befitting a pregnant woman.

94. Koe kai ika pe ae jio ki motu: All the fish eating is looking at (or thinking about) an island. 539 484

If one stays at one of the small out-islands he will probably be well 262 placed to get as much fish as he wants. Should one wish to go away for 152 a holiday on an island, and enjoy the plentifulness of fish, but finds him-

187. Pekepeka jio ohuafi: Swift seeing smoke. 539
The swift (*Collocallia spodiopyga*) is attracted by the smoke of fires. 825
The expression is used of a person who is constantly making for the fires 829
of his neighbors, that is, who prepares very little food for himself but when 571
he notices the culinary smoke ascending from some other home invites 574
himself there for dinner. The Tongan is very open-handed, but this chap 431
rather overdoes the giving of opportunity to other people to prove that it [136]
is more blessed to give than to receive. (Compare No. 86.)

188. Pikipiki aho: Wings folded by day. 539
Night birds sit with wings folded during the day. The expression is 825
used of those who don't do much by day but who prowl about at night, 824
very often getting into mischief.

189. Tee pato: Duck excrement. 539
The missionaries were the first to bring the Muscovy duck to Tonga, 825
and people who were specially anxious to appear well in the eyes of the 797
missionaries would not hesitate to assist them by cleaning up the mess made 554
by the ducks. The expression, therefore, is used of one who does all he 157
can to secure the favor of the missionaries.

190. Vea tee peka: Vea flying-fox dung. 539
A man called Vea lived for a long time with a great chief but at 825
last did something for which he was punished. Spoiling one's prosperity 571
or long service by a fault.

FISH

191. Angaanga mo fai: The name of a shark whose head is like 539
that of the *fai*, sting ray, and whose tail is like that of the shark 825
called *anga*. 157

Applied to those of uncertain character, now one thing and then another.

192. Faka-ikeika-lahi: Like a big fish.

Applied to one of a bold resolute deportment.

193. Fakalelei a tukuku: Peace-making of a *tukuku*. 539
The *tukuku* is a small fish (one of the Glyphidodon). This is used 825
derisively of the little chap trying to make things right between those who 571
are bigger, or socially superior, to himself. [136]

194. Fotu ae ulua ngalo ae tukuku: The *ulua* appears, the *tukuku* 539
is forgotten. 226
584
The *ulua* and *tukuku* are two fish, the *tukuku* being small and bony, 554
and the *ulua* large and fleshy. If fishermen are catching the *tukuku* and

539 **354. Faka-Niuniua-foou:** Niua Foou fashion.

184 Tongans generally do not ask a stranger his name directly but ask a
third person who knows him, whereas the people of Niua Foou make no
576 scruple of a point blank inquiry. Hence to ask anybody his name directly
574 is to act in the Niua Foou way. There is a special application to kava
276 drinking. The *matabule* who is directing the brewing and distribution of the drink may not know the names of all present. A very common proceeding in such as case is to quietly inquire of one sitting near who so-and-so is; but he may say "We'll do Niua Foou way," and then without further invitation the strangers will each tell their names, or someone who knows them will name them out.

OTHER LOCALITIES

539 **355. Faji pe jila tuku ki Manono:** Boom broken—leave it to
183 Manono, or boom broken, impute it to Manono.

Either of these expressions is a literal translation of the words. The origin of the phrase is obscure, but it is applied in two ways in accordance with the two translations given: 1. When a thing is broken, leave it to such a one, or to certain people who are skilled craftsmen and will mend it; 2. When a thing is broken, impute the blame for the mishap to so-and-so.

539 **356. Hange ha tama Polataane:** Like a British man.

829 This indicates one of martial aspect. Presumably the Tongans in the
days of their first contact with European seamen grew accustomed to the
177 sight of fully armed landing parties.

539 **357. Koe aho ni ape e tuku ki Uvea:** Today apparently is to be
643 left to Uvea.

466 When the Tui Tonga had a big piece of work on hand, as for example
264 building or repairing his boat, the *Akihenho*, the duty of feeding the car-
penters was apportioned among the various districts in rotation, even as
823 far as Uvea. The Uveans lived a long way off, and on their day the workmen frequently went hungry. So on any day when it was not clear whether any food would be forthcoming for them or not the carpenters were wont to say, "H'm, looks as though today were being left to Uvea." Used generally of uncertainty whether a desired event will happen or not.

539 **358. Ko Vaihi e:** That's Hawaii.

823 Indicates that which is far off and impossible. Much as English
people speak of asking for the moon. "Did you get such a thing?" "That's
Hawaii," that is, I have as much chance of getting that as I have of
177 getting Hawaii. We are unable to say with certainty, but think it probable
that this name Vaihi is no old recollection preserved in Tongan tradition,
609 but a recent innovation since the visits of European vessels. A variation
of this is *Ko Vaihi matalolou*, that is, yellow-eyed, or yellow, Hawaii; but we do not know the reason of the epithet.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 501. **Hange ha mate mutukia:** Like a cut off death.
Mutukia means trimmed, as for example the edges of the native cloth
761 which are trimmed during manufacture. Thence ***mate mutukia*** means
287 sudden, unexpected, death. The expression is used of the unexpected
occurrence of a painful or disastrous event.

539 502. **Matamatalelei fakafaitoka:** Beautiful like a cemetery.
764 People may adorn and care for a cemetery but however well it looks
it is still not a place that one feels much at home in. So used of that
which is beautiful but fails to evoke the feeling of appreciative comfort
that makes one desire to linger in its vicinity.

539 503. **Noo ua poaki:** Begging off being strangled.
768 Refers to the strangling of victims on the death of a chief or other
183 circumstances of a like nature where a human victim was called for. This
taking of life seemed a quite proper thing and ordinarilly evoked no
popular dissent. This expression signifies literally that the individual to
whom was assigned the leading part in the tragedy sought to evade his
duty by an appeal to the people. So the phrase comes to mean attempting
to beg off a duty which should be carried out.

539 504. **Tala fai ki tano:** Speech made to burying-ground.
764 Exhortation, commands, or other expressions directed towards the
521 cemetery where there is none able to take heed and profit by what is said.
So of totally unprofitable discourse.

539 505. **To hono aveave:** Plant his *aveave*.
764 A branch of the *aveave* (*Codiaeum variegatum* Pratt), was stuck into
763 the ground in a cemetery to mark the spot where a grave was to be dug.
When it was clear that a sick person was about to die a man was told to
put in the *aveave*, which he did as a mark to direct those whose business
it was to see to the digging of the grave and carrying out of the burial.
The *aveave* was left at the grave to grow. The expression, therefore, is
equivalent to saying that so-and-so is nearing his end, that it is all up
with him.

It is interesting to note that a grave was not left open. The digging of the grave was one of the last pieces of work done in preparation for the interment and never done before the sick person was actually dead, though the *aveave* might be planted while the patient was still alive. In recent years we have seen a coffin made for an old lady, who though frail had vitality sufficient to do a little work even outside the house, and who survived by many months the completion of her coffin, which stood meanwhile on the side verandah of her house. Should an interment be postponed till the day after the grave had been dug, the hole will be filled in and dug out again on the next day. (See No. 498.)

539 506. **Tuui tae fakakava:** Visiting mourners without kava.
765 In visits to the friends and relatives of a person recently deceased it
276 is customary to take gifts to the mourners, particularly to present them with
574
431

kava. A visit without kava would lack the most important article which 539
the comforters should take. This phrase indicates a visit unaccompanied 765
by the "real thing," that which is the real substance of the ceremony. 276
Generally used of that which appears all right but is more or less of a 574
hollow pretence. 431

507. Vai kauaki: Water (for) dying man. 539

Used of that which is given to a dying man to satisfy any longing he 763
may have. If he wants a drink of water give it to him. Literally it refers to giving the dying whatever they may want when it is obvious that nothing can do any good or any harm and that by satisfying any desire expressed at such a time the last moments may be made happier. We [271]
have also seen the phrase in a context that seemed to imply that the draught of water was life-giving; but probably the idea is that it restored the spirits of the dying man without giving him any real chance of life. Comforting, soothing.

WRONG-DOING; RETRIBUTION

508. E lavea ae taka nofo i he ngaue ae taka tuu: The good will 539
be wounded by the conduct of the bad; wrong-doing which 183
involves the innocent as well as the guilty in punishment.

Taka nofo and *taka tuu*, which mean literally, "he who sits" and "he who stands," perhaps get their meanings of good and bad, as applied to conduct, from the idea of one who sits quietly attending to his own business, and of one who must always be up and gadding round into mischief. Perhaps they refer primarily to the behavior proper to the kava ring where all should sit except when it is necessary to get up to perform some office connected with the ceremony.

509. Faifaimalie a nunua: Retribution coming on slowly.

Although the retribution of evil deeds seems to tarry, yet come it will.

510. Jii pe lele ae kaihaa kae fai: The thief's run is but short, but it is done.

If a thief is discovered he must make a bolt. Even if he is unable to run far and is soon caught he may as well make a dash for it and try to get away. Not a very successful attempt, but still a try.

511. Kaihaa tangi tauloto: A thief who wants to *tauloto*. 539

Tauloto is to carry two burdens or baskets slung on the ends of a 482
stick over the shoulder. If a man desires to steal he will be well advised 685
to limit his depredations to what can easily be comprised in a single bundle and carried without difficulty. If he takes so much that he has to make up two bundles and carry them at the ends of a stick his chances of evading discovery and capture are much lessened. Not only so, but if caught he is much more likely to be forgiven if he is getting off with a swag of moderate size. If you are out for theft there is no sense in over-doing it.

554. Fele a toua: *Toua* is widely scattered, that is, a multitude 539
in the *toua.* 276
554

The *toua* (pronounced to-wa) are those who sit where the kava is prepared in a kava ceremony; they are, for the most part, people of no rank and do not drink the kava, that privilege being reserved for their superiors in the *alofi,* or chiefly circle. This expression then indicates a big crowd of people who do not count for much.

555. Fufu mo kokohu: Clapping (the hollowed hands) and dust 539
rising. 276

When there is a shortage of kava the people are constrained to use the little rootlets projecting from the thick part of the main root which in times of plenty they would throw away. To cleanse these rootlets of adhering earth they are rubbed in the hands, then held in the hollow of one hand while the other hand is beaten down on top of them, thus causing dust to arise. This expression is used in a deprecating way by a man who has only a small piece of kava to offer to his friends, and indicates that with this small piece he is completely at the end of his resources.

556. Molumalu faka-fono: Good appearances, *fono* fashion.

The *fono* is the food served with the kava. The distribution of food [264]
with kava is frequently a mere formality to comply with ceremonial requirements, and the little food given out is seldom eaten. The phrase indi- [576]
cates therefore appearances that are only appearances without any solid backing of substance.

557. Nofo e fononga kae eke kava: The visitors having no 539
share, but asking for kava; or perhaps more intelligibly, asking 276
for kava, but the visitors having no share in it (literally, the 574
visitors sitting, that is, just sitting quiet without part or lot in what is going on).

If guests arrive at one's house it is proper to prepare kava to greet them. This phrase indicates one who should ask for and obtain kava but then takes it off and uses it for some other purpose, neglecting the obvious duty of polite hospitality of preparing the beverage to greet his visitors.

WAR

558. Fakalali pakola: Like drum of prisoners of war, that is, 539
the peculiar beating of the drum indicating that prisoners had 727
been taken. 266

Cannibalism was only sporadic in Tonga, and never widespread. The word *pakola* is of Fijian introduction, and in Fiji indicated prisoners of war designed for the oven. Baker considers it an introduced word from Fiji, [177]
used in a low way for "Die, you wretches." In Fiji, therefore, the *pakola* [192]
drum would seem to indicate that the butcher was about to call, but such a meaning can never have been general in Tonga.

821 ably an older and more correct form is Lua-tangata, or Lua'i-[773] tangata, two men. Lua, two, is not now found as a common [802] numeral in Tongan, the ordinary form being ua, but *lua* is the numeral two in Samoan, and is found in Tongan in composition. Both Brown[2] and Pratt[3] give Lua-tangata as the Samoan name for Castor and Pollux, with Filo and Mea as the individual names of the two stars, but the presence of Lua-a-tangata in the southern zone and in close proximity to the Southern Cross in the Tongan list is against this identification for Tonga.

Other names for stars in the southern division are Tuutanga-ufi (piece of yam), and Mamangi Halahu, both of which appear to be variants for stars already mentioned, possibly for alpha Centauri, or according to other information for Moa-a-mahe. Tuutanga-ufi is the name used by the people of Ula, the chief sailor of the Tui Kanokupolu. Halahu is the name of a place in the high island of Eua near Tongatabu, where the species of yam called *mamangi* is supposed to flourish with exceptional luxuriance. This star was used in sailing from Fiji to Tonga.

[276] [579] Still another name for Mamangi Halahu is Mau-kuo-mau, an expression meaning got (arrived at) when clear, and used of a person who arrives at a kava party when the beverage has been strained and is clean and ready for drinking. The people of the Haapai chief Tuita are said to use this name for the star.

The dark patch of sky near the left-hand end of the Southern Cross is called Humu, and is brought into close association with the Southern Cross, as for example in the verse, which in the absence of legend is not remarkably intelligible:

[539] Humu moe Toloa	Humu and Toloa
To hono fuji pea vaoa;	Plant their plantain and overgrown with bush;
Pea lele mai kuli Fiji.	And Fiji dog runs hither.
Tali fanaia, hala he vae, tau he ate.	His reception is being shot, missed in the leg, hit in the liver.

Humu is the name of a fish. The Samoan word *sumu* is the name of fishes of the genus Ballistes, and also the name of a clus-

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[113]

[2] Brown, George, Melanesians and Polynesians, p. 348. London, 1910.

[3] Op. cit.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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As soon as the morning dawned, they arose; and 175
then took place the important ceremony of drink- 276
ing Kava, and eating yams, &c. which formed
their breakfast; in which as much order and exactness were observed, as in the forming and exercising a regiment of soldiers. The Kava is a root planted principally for the use of the chiefs: and too scarce for the lower orders.

It is made into a spirit of an intoxicating nature. The top and branches of this plant are thrown away. The root alone is used, and this is of a soft nature, that may be beaten to pieces. The root is first scraped with a shell, and rubbed clean with the rough husk of the cocoa-nut, and then divided among the company to be prepared for making the liquor.

A large circle is formed by the whole company, 175
all sitting in the same posture, with their legs crossed.
The chief sits at the head of it. On each side of 276
him are stationed the tackhangers, or ministers of 574
the chief, to superintend the preparation of the Kava. The Kava is then brought before the chief. The person who is to mix it, by order of the Tackhangers, then splits the root into small pieces with a flat piece of wood, or whale bone, which they procure from the bodies of dead whales that are sometimes thrown upon the coast. The pieces of Kava root thus split, are then distributed amongst the circle, who hand them to the young people a-

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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175 mong them who have clean *teeth, fit to chew it.* 276 Each person has a leaf by him, on which he lays 574 his portion of masticated Kava root. When it is all chewed, a large bowl with three legs is handed round, and they empty their leaves, containing the prepared Kava root, into it. The bowl is then placed within the circle opposite the chief; and on each side of it are seated two young men, with plantain leaves, to keep off the flies. The person who has the management of the bowl having received the different portions of masticated root, turns it on one side to show it to the tackhangers, and with his face towards the chief, calls out to the tackhangers, "Gooch Kava anama." "All the Kava is chewed."

If the tackhangers judge that there is sufficient for the company, they say "Baloo," "mix it." Then one of the persons holding the fans of plantain branches, pours water out of cocoa-nut shells, which stand near them in readiness, while the other keeps off the flies. As he pours, the tackhanger notes and regulates the quantity, and at length calls out "Moua," i. e. "stop."

The root, thus chewed, and mixed with water, is then squeezed by handfuls held up for the tackhangers to judge of the strength of the liquor, as it falls into the dish: if it appears sufficiently strong, a strainer is brought, made of the inner bark of a tree, which, when scraped thin and fine, and well

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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175 washed, is laid out to dry, and becomes very white
276 and clean. With this, they strain the liquor from
the masticated Kava root. When they have repeat-
574 ed the straining three or four times, and perfectly
cleansed it, the person who sits by the bowl calls
out "Tooma Kava," the "Kava is clean." During
this time the company, who are sitting in silence, are
not idle: they form dishes in a curious and skilful
manner of plantain leaves. As soon as the Kava is
ready, appointed persons rise from the circle with
their plantain dishes, and approach the bowl. The
man who mixed it then takes up a large strainer
full, and another holds his dish underneath, over the
great bowl, till it is filled. The former then calls
out, "Kava go aga." "Whose is this Kava?" The
tackhanger replies, "Havee ge Dabou." "Take it
to Dabou," or to any other person whose name was
mentioned. In this way, the name of every one
of the company is repeated, before he is served.
The person whose name is pronounced, then claps
his hands, and the waiter, by this signal informed
which it is, takes the Kava to him. The persons
serving it out to the company, conduct themselves
in the most becoming and orderly manner, arranging
their apparel with the greatest neatness, walking
with grace, and presenting it with ceremonious po-
[576] liteness. If a man were to conduct himself with
the least disorder or disrespect, the chief would or-
[649] der him to be struck down. When they present
[516]

175 the Kava to Duatonga, or any of his family, all of
276 whom are considered sacred, they must sit down
574 cross-legged, before they deliver it out of their
[643] hands.

[516] During the preparation of the Kava, the Tomaagee,
or principal servants of the chief, are busily
[252] employed in an out house built for the purpose, in
[264] baking yams. These, as soon as ready, they bring
in baskets, made of entwined leaves, and lay them
[285] before the chief and the circle of guests as far as they
[262] go. They eat these yams after drinking the Kava;
[521] and during their meal talk with each other, as they
please, on different subjects.

Whenever the lower orders can procure the Kava,
175 they always drink it in companies in this festive
565 manner; in which they often spend the two or three
276 first hours of the morning. They have this pleasure,
574 however, but seldom, as the chiefs generally exact
it of them, to drink it with their brother chiefs and
175 their attendants. They exercise an arbitrary power
565 over the lower orders, and have every thing belonging
421 to them in their power, which their sub-officers
take from them, without ceremony, as the
175 chief may need. Though the provision they have
565 by them be ever so scanty, they are required to cook
261 a part of it for the chief; so that they are frequently
obliged to eat the root of the plantain-tree, for a
[262] wretched subsistance, or to resort to the chief, and
beg some food. The chief will send his attendants

men. But this large quantity of fishes was of no 175
private emolument to me; for at Tonga, though 797
there is not a community of goods, yet it is the custom, [226]
where a person has much, for numbers to flock
to him ; and it would be looked upon as contrary 175
to nature to refuse them. If I was sitting at my 797
door, or at the entrance of my abbee with my attendants, 574
and eating, and a stranger passed, he
would come and sit himself down by me, without
ceremony, and expect a meal with me. In a scarce [261]
season, numbers resorted to me for my yams ; and
it would have been a transgression of the laws of
hospitality to have refused them, as long as they
lasted. We had an abundance of customers for our
fish, therefore, in a short time. Yet I had sufficient
left to send large presents to different chiefs, and to
take an ample quantity home.

I continued my fishing, in this manner, as long 175
as my fringed rope and nets of cocoa-fibres lasted; 797
but the weather, after a time, rotted them, and as my abbee now produced me an abundant variety of good and pleasant food, I never made another Ooloa.

My intimacy and credit with the chiefs daily increased, and I generally made one of their party, both on business and recreation.

The chief, near whom I lived, had a brother at 175
Arbai, a cluster of islands at no great distance, 797
composed of Anamooka and other islands; and as 484

blow at the time of, or immediately after, heavy rains when 132
the ground is soft and consequently the roots of the trees 731
have little grip in the muddy, yielding soil.

The Village

Pangai village is a relatively self-contained economic 621
unit. The villagers look upon their village as their chief
source of satisfaction for both work and play. There is, of [628)
course, continual coming and going between Pangai and
other nearby villages. On the half dozen times each year 574
when the banana and tourist boat calls at Neiafu (population 628
in 1931, 1610 people), many Pangai people, men mostly, [162]
congregate in Neiafu to see the sights and to gossip with
relatives and friends from other villages. Each year a few 871
youths from the village go off to school in Nukualofa, capital 484
and chief port of the Kingdom on distant Tongatapu, 170
miles to the south. They travel by small motor vessel or [505]
more hazardous cutter. Sometimes they return to Pangai
for the annual vacation. Often they stay with relatives in
Tongatapu until their schooling is finished. Adults rarely 484
make the journey to Tongatapu. For the most part they 574
stay in the village, relieving monotony by occasional visits
to Neiafu.

The map of Pangai village (Fig. 2),A sketches the lay-out 361
of house-lots which together take up an area of about 20 423
acres. There are four church buildings. One of these is of 368
European, church-like form; another is a small simple four-square
board structure; the remaining two are Tongan-style
architecture. The school-house is a small frame
building, bare inside and out. The children sit on the floor.
The community bark-cloth-making house stands next to the
school-house. It is a larger frame building that stands
empty and unused most of the year. The two stores are 366
again small frame buildings with large copra-drying plat- 417
forms and small copra storehouses alongside. 343

The style of house common in the village is also 342
indicated on Figure 2. Of the 50 dwelling houses, 36 or 72
per cent. are Tongan style, 14 or 28 per cent. are European [177]
frame houses with iron roofs. Most of the Tongan style
houses are built according to old-time native practice with [178]
coconut-sheet wall-screens and coconut mat thatching. A

A. [See category 116, p. 9--Analyst]

512 The routine as given is for days during the month of
January. It is not to be supposed however, that this routine
varies greatly for different times of the year. There are no
[132] marked seasonal changes in the Tongan climate except the
change from a dry to a wet season. This change does not
[241] affect the growth of plants to any degree. Hence the villager
is cultivating for most of the year, and when he is not
512 cultivating, he is planting. Annual festivities such as
Christmas and New Year celebrations, missionary-confer-
527 ences and the like mean a certain crescendo of economic activity because feasting and resting and then more feasting are approved Tongan methods of celebration. This kind of holiday-making can only be prepared for by extensive and increased pre-holiday working activity. Otherwise, as has been stressed, the daily routine is, by and large, the yearly routine.

512 So far we have been considering the daily routine of the
128 villager in terms of the classified statements of a table. In order to give some indication of what this daily routine means in the life of the villager, the following notes are taken from field-notebooks. They serve to show the contrasts between day by day work on the one hand and the activities centred round special celebrations on the other.

512 This is the way life runs in the village today: Bovai is
holding a working-party to clear the weeds from his pine-
461 apple plantation. Many men are busy there today—his
476 friends from the Catholic church and his male relatives.
They finish work in the early afternoon and then come back
[574] to Bovai's house where he has ready for them a large oven-baked feast. Bovai finds this a good way to get large amounts of work done. The men enjoy this kind of work for a change. It is much more sociable, friendly, and satisfying than sweating away alone in the bush with only the persistent mosquitoes for company.

512 Hausia is taking no part in this working party. He is
working with the men of his own household on his own
461 plantation. The men take time off during the day to make
592 for themselves an elaborate feast in the bush. One of the
boys comes back to the village bringing with him a few baked
[574] *taro*-corms and some pieces of baked *manioke*. This snack
[262] is for Hausia's wife and the girls of the household who are

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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Pangai

A few days after the New Year we summed up a week of 527
village festivity as follows: 574

> Christmas and New Year have passed by quite uneventfully. Beyond feasting and much church-going on Christmas
> Day, the villagers have paid no special tribute to the memory
> of Christ's birth. They have been much more excited about
> New Year. The last day of the old year was a day marked by 527
> extra-large feasts and culminating in a two-hour church service 574
> which lasted from ten to midnight. All the local lay-preachers 796
> together with their pastor kept the service going at the Free 794
> Wesleyan church by taking turns in quarter-hour prayers or
> Bible lessons. The pastor had brought into the church two
> noisy clocks which ticked away on the pulpit. Punctually at
> midnight, the pastor climbed into the pulpit, cut short the
> interminable praying of one of the more verbal lay-preachers
> and himself led the congregation in a fluent and final outburst of
> prayer. Thereafter the congregation broke up into small and
> excited groups. Each saluted everyone else with a vigorous [576)
> handshake and the Polynesian nose greeting. Then the meeting
> broke up and all went home.
>
> Each of the three Protestant churches welcomed the first 527
> minute of the New Year at different minutes. The three 795
> local pastors would have thought it undignified to synchronise
> their clocks during the day. As a result there was a range of at
> least thirty minutes between first and last New Year greeting—
> plenty of basis also for interdenominational discussion later on
> as to when New Year actually occurred.
>
> According to village custom the first week of the New Year 527
> is given over to rejoicing and thanks for the blessings of the 574
> year just finished. This thanksgiving has consisted of daily
> church-going, the interminable and almost continuous beating 796
> of wooden gongs by gangs of lads working in shifts, the eating
> of large quantities of food each day, interminable singing of
> church hymns each night by groups of adults and gangs of
> children, much sociable coming and going of groups of singers
> between one village and the next. The local "string band" has
> been on a constant perambulation of near and distant villages.
> Each visit has meant all-night *kava* drinking, eating, and
> playing of the five tunes that make up the band's repertoire.
> Voices have become hoarse, eyes red and puffy through lack
> of sleep; tempers are breaking easily through fatigue.
>
> We asked Biukala whether he had had a happy week. He 527
> replied that he had been happy for so many days that he was 461
> tired now of being happy any more. His most fervent wish was
> that the next week would come quickly that he might begin
> again his routine plantation work. His feelings were echoed

the activities of the working-group he has had his land cleared in return for giving up one year's harvest from the land. 461 464 476 241 571

The owner of the land may also call together working-parties of friends and relatives for a day's work on his land whenever he wants to carry out some large-scale operation, such as clearing, planting, or making copra. From five to twenty men may help him with cultivation, or any number up to thirty men and women may participate in a copra-cutting group. The leader prepares a large feast in the bush consisting of staple foods together with relishes of pork, fish, and chicken, as a token of thanks to the working group. [574) Whenever a group works together, each for his own interests, the feast has no part, but working in the group serves to lighten the burden of work. Only when the working party has come together to work to the advantage of one of its members is food prepared and offered to the group as a return for services rendered.

HOUSE-BUILDING

The villager wishing to build and own a Tongan-style house must first prepare large quantities of food for his workers and also large quantities of sennit *(kafa)* with which to fasten the house together. 342 574 283 The preparations for a large house may take at least one year to complete. During this year pigs would be obtained and fattened, the requisite timbers and poles brought in from the plantations, sennit would be made and extra amounts of food-staples would be planted.

Even for a smaller house at least six thousand feet of sennit is necessary. 342 283 To prepare this, the prospective owner collects from his plantation about one hundred coconuts of the *niu kafa* variety (nuts with an especially long husk). He is assisted by several of his friends whom he feeds while working with him. The nuts are husked and the husks placed in a large, specially prepared oven. This oven is about eight feet long, eight feet wide, and three to four feet deep. The bottom is lined with stones and further stones are placed on top of the wood. After the wood has burnt down, the coconut husks are placed in the oven, the oven

226 closed if large. The discovery of this "shark-house" by
[789] unauthorised persons in the village is sufficient to give bad
[784] luck to the fisherman.

When the expedition returns with its catch of sharks,
[202] a conch shell-trumpet is blown while the cutter is still some
distance away from Pangai. If this is the first time that
[574] this cutter has been successfully used for shark-fishing, a
large feast will be prepared for the fishermen. If the cutter
has been used before, only a small feast is necessary. The
catch is divided by the expert in charge. Of a catch of say,
[644] fifteen sharks, one is given to the village overseer as the
[793] representative of authority, one is given to the pastor of the
established church (both of these sharks are looked upon
[651] as tribute indirectly to royalty--to the representative of
royalty, to the representative of the royal church), and the
remainder are divided among the households of the village.
A smaller catch would be divided in the same proportions.
226 If a house has been used as the "shark-house," the expert
789 makes *kava* in this house. After this *kava* has been drunk by
784 the fishermen and all the other men of the village, the *tapu*
is considered lifted from the house. If some small object
276 has been used as a "shark-house," this object is taken inside
the house in which *kava* is made. In both cases the formal
making of *kava* lifts the *tapu*; the house or object may
thereafter be used for any ordinary purposes.

226 Throughout the fishing, the preliminaries and the conclusion, the village expert fisherman for shark-fishing is in
complete charge of the proceedings. He directs the expedi-
[221] tion in every particular. The months from September to
February are the official shark-fishing months.

Net-fishing methods for smaller fish are also employed. The hand-net may be used by one man or else a group of three or more men combine to use the European seine-net. The large net may be set during high water and left until low tide when the catch is taken and divided among the men, or else several men may hold the mouth of the net open while others beat the water with sticks and try to drive the fish into the net. No expert supervision is needed for this type of fishing.

For fishing which uses a long line of plaited coconut-sheets *(pola)*, more organization is necessary, and here the

many uses in Pangai. Each household keeps an adequate 287
amount on hand to meet all possible emergencies. It is still
largely used as bedding and is a necessity for any of the more
formal gift-occasions. It is *tapu* to make bark cloth during a 287
mourning period set for a chief, noble, or for members of the 784
royal family. This *tapu* mourning period ranges from two 765
to three months for a minor noble up to at least six months 565
for a great noble and a period of more than a year after the
death of royalty. No bark cloth may be made until someone (634)
in authority, the governor of Vava'u for instance, or the son
of the deceased noble, notifies the village overseer that the (644)
mourning period is at an end. The overseer in turn relays
this information to the women of the village.

A few women may meet together informally to make 287
bark cloth near the house of the leader of the group. The 464
more formal groups however, meet in a special house in the 571
centre of the village which was built for the making of bark 461
cloth and is used for no other purpose. This house is in
European style. It was built about twelve years ago, all the
households in the village contributing the required money,
material, and labour. When such a formal party is
organized, the women proceed to the bush to collect bark and
dye-materials. These are obtained by each woman from
mulberry-trees and dye-plants growing on the plantation of
her husband or another relative. About three days later,
after these materials have been prepared for use, the women
meet together in the public house *(fale kautaha)*. There they (644)
are addressed by the village overseer who urges the women
to work hard, to work quietly and to avoid scandalous or
quarrelsome talk. Women from other villages may be invited (574)
by their Pangai friends to come and assist in the work. Each
visitor assists the woman who has been responsible for her
invitation.

The men meanwhile prepare large ovens of food together
with relishes of pork, fish, and chicken. After the women (574)
have beaten out a specified length of bark cloth (any length
from four to forty fathoms, as agreed upon), they notify the
men who thereupon open the ovens and serve the food. The
women eat again after a further specified length of cloth has
been completed. The work proceeds quickly under the
stimulus of group activity. A group of say, sixteen women

plants. The above staples would be planted as required 241
in such a way as to keep the amounts and proportions fairly constant.

Such is the fertility of the Pangai soil that only a small 241
part of a man's *api* is used for garden-purposes. Thus 423
Biukala controls three *api* which total about fifty acres. He 311
allows a relative to garden two acres of one *api*. The remainder of this *api* is given over to bush and coconuts. The second *api* is not cultivated but is used for coconut-production. On the third *api* Biukala gardens about three acres for his own household needs, taking coconuts from the remainder. From these three *api* Biukala thus supports his own household and that of a relative as well as securing, under optimum conditions, about twenty-five tons of copra each year. Most villagers with their normally small *api* can easily produce enough food for their households (if they are reasonably industrious according to Tongan standards) and can also expect to obtain up to five tons of copra each year.

Such also is the fertility of the soil that there appear 241
to be few beliefs, if any, of a magical nature associated with 789
garden cultivation. The villager knows full well that most of what he plants will grow. Insect pests, high winds and hurricanes, excessive rain or excessive dryness will affect his harvest from time to time. But it is convenient today to look upon these natural events as God-sent against which
the skill and hopes of man avail nothing. Similarly the [242]
influence of government agricultural experts and of agri- (654)
cultural teachers in the government and mission-colleges tends to inculcate a scientific fatalism where religious fatalism leaves off. Neither agricultural art nor religious excuse, taken singly or together, leaves much ground for specifically magical belief or practice. Garden magic therefore, is conspicuously absent in the emotional and intellectual make-up of the average Pangai cultivator.

LIVESTOCK

231
Most households in the village own at least several 524
pigs. These are necessary not so much for ordinary food- 527
consumption but in order to fulfil feast obligations whenever these fall due at times of birth, marriage, death, visits of

231 special kin, church-thanksgivings, and the like. It is well
574 to be prepared for these possible functions with pigs on hand.
527 Otherwise the pigs will have to be bought from whomsoever
can be persuaded to sell. The price is likely to be high.
Biukala, to take a typical case, has now five pigs, three sows
and two boars. During 1938 he killed ten pigs: six for his
[554] son's first birthday (he also purchased an additional large
pig for this feast, thus signalising with a memorable feast
[565] the prestige of his high status among the other commoner
families of this village), two for Christmas celebrations, and
two sucklings which he sold when temporarily short of ready
[262] cash. No feast can claim to be a feast without the service of
pork. Hence the premium on the keeping of pigs.

231 Most village households also own at least one horse.
This is most useful for visiting distant villages, for riding
492 (bareback) to and from the plantation, and more particularly
for use as a pack animal in bringing back heavy loads of
food and firewood to the village from the plantations.

231 Many households possess a few chickens which are used
[235] as an occasional food relish and for feasts. The eggs, if any,
[262] may be sold for a pittance to the trading station, the manager
of which takes them in turn to Neiafu where they are sold
[432] from the big stores to the European residents. Two families
have several goats, useful for feast-occasions. The village
overseer owns two cows and a bull. At rare intervals he
sells a cow or a calf to a butcher in Neiafu. He slaughtered
one cow himself for the birthday-feast of his son. Neither
[272] milk nor manure are used. The animals have mostly prestige
[237] value.

Pigs are nominally supposed to be kept inside enclosures in the village. They usually wander round the village, unhindered, unhampered, and occasionally venture into the bush where they often play havoc with the gardens. They are usually fed on mature coconuts, specially if fattening is necessary for a forthcoming feast. Otherwise they root up the free village lands hunting for roots and wallowing in the consequent mud baths during the rainy season. Goats, cows, and horses are kept tethered in the plantations where they find enough green foods to keep them in good condition.
[857] Chickens are semi-wild, roosting in the trees and only to be

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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the four records were used in the form of coconut-cream 262
in which the staples were boiled. No informant bothered to 592
list the number of drinking nuts used because, for him, the nuts were equivalent to water in the diet. The meat eaten was canned. The fish eaten was mostly fresh, helped out by canned salmon and herring. The reef-food eaten as a relish by two of the families included shell-fish, jelly-fish, octopus, seaweed and other edible reef-material.

In addition to this food actually consumed by members 262
of the household, further food was on some days collected 592
from the gardens and distributed in the gift-exchange. Thus 574
family B was visited for two days by the sister of the 431
household head, her husband and two children. When these visitors left, the household head presented them with a gift
of about fifteen pounds of *taro* and one large pig. Food to [231]
feed the pigs would also have to be collected: about fifty mature coconuts for each pig would be the amount used in this connection.

The specific amounts of food harvested and used by one 252
of these families (household D) is given in the next table. 262
592
264

TABLE 7.—HOUSEHOLD FOOD

			Food—Number of Tubers						
Date	Time	Way Prepared	*Taro*	Plantain	Green Bananas	*Kape*	*Manioke*	*Papaia*	Reef Foods Baskets
Jan. 23	Morning	Boiled	30	13	30	—	—	—	1
	Evening	Boiled	20	10	25	—	—	—	—
Jan. 24	Morning	Boiled	40	15	45	—	—	—	1
	Evening	Boiled	20	—	40	—	—	—	1
Jan. 25	Morning	Boiled	45	—	50	—	—	—	1
	Evening	Boiled	30	—	40	—	—	—	1
Jan. 26	Morning	Oven	50	—	—	2	—	15	2
	Evening	Boiled	—	50	17	—	—	—	—
Jan. 27	Morning	Boiled	37	—	40	—	—	—	—
	Evening	Boiled	29	—	20	—	—	—	—
Jan. 28	Morning	Boiled	50	22	19	—	—	—	—
	Evening	Boiled	25	17	—	—	—	—	—
Jan. 29	Morning	Oven	—	—	—	7	30	10	1
	Evening	Boiled	—	—	—	8	—	—	—

This table suggests very vividly the dietary of the 262
Pangai people. For five days there is a steady diet of *taro*, plantain, and green bananas with additional shell-fish relish.
For each meal of these five days the staples were prepared [252]
by boiling in a kerosene tin with coconut-cream (64 mature

262 264 121 114 each day (the second meal is regarded more as a light "snack" than as a true meal). It is natural that he should eat in quantity just to satisfy an appetite sharpened by a day of hard physical labour on his plantation. Probably also, he must eat in quantity to secure sufficient food-elements in a dietary that is made up largely of vegetable staples. In this dietary quality-food is largely absent. It would be difficult, therefore, for the Tongan to show anything but an emphasis on quantity to the exclusion of quality.

262 178 Probably the quality of Tongan food could be improved by a return to old-time methods of preparing and cooking food. But it is doubtful whether the Tongan would eat any less even though the quality of his food were thus improved. As far as improving the quality of food is concerned through greater variety of vegetable and animal staples, this is impossible for the Tongan without radically upsetting the whole basis of his subsistence-economy.

262 264 121 114 We apparently do not have comparable figures which would show the amount of food eaten by a labourer in our own society during each day. One suspects that were this amount known and all eaten during the course of one main meal, then the quantity of food consumed by this labourer might not differ greatly from the quantity of food eaten by the Tongan during his one main daily meal. This Tongan material suggests, therefore, that even though the Tongan eating-emphasis falls on bulk, this may be largely due, not to food-anxiety (though other factors may still produce food-anxieties in the Tongan village-culture), but to the fact that the villager eats but one large meal each day of a diet that is deficient in quality-foods. Further analysis of Marquesan eating-habits might, in sum, lead to this conclusion also, and suggest even more general Polynesian characteristics in regard to eating-habits that would demand a psychodynamic explanation in terms other than an emphasis on underlying food-anxiety.

FEASTS

● 574 527 The various feast-occasions are mentioned throughout this text, specially in the sections on the life-cycle, where the functional and symbolic interrelations of feasts with the validation of special or critical situations

in the social life of the individual or group will be 574
described. Here the various kinds of feasts may be classified 527
in order to show the status-hierarchies that are symbolized
by feast-occasions. The types of feasts required by specific 574
occasions are named after the size of the pig and the size 527
of the *kava* root that are considered necessary for this
occasion. To the villager a pig is not merely a pig and 554
nothing else. The pig has value as a source of food. It has 262
greater value, however, as the symbolic expression of the [231]
struggles of a household to do what is fit and requisite in [276]
expressing its social status on feast-occasions.[14] The villager rarely talks of a pig, generically. He talks of this pig or of that pig as being a *toho* or a *hula* or a *ha'amo,* using these terms to express the hierarchy of feasts which pigs of various sizes will be called on to grace. Pigs are carefully nurtured and fattened by a household according to the schedule of likely future social obligations. When one of these obligations is carried out with a pig of obligatory size, or with a pig of larger size if there is urge to ostentatious display, then the household is satisfied that it has not failed in that implicit, but nonetheless precise, measure of the give and take that is basic to the functioning of reciprocal obligations.

The hierarchy of feasts together with the ancient and 527
modern occasions for their display, are as follows: 574

Umu puaka toho: feast with a pig and *kava* root of 262
toho size. The pig is a fully-tusked boar or a very large- [276]
sized sow. This feast is held for such varied occasions as first, the feast given by an important father at the wedding of his favourite child; second, the feast contributed by the village as part of its gifts should the Queen of Tonga visit Vava'u; third, the feast (though it would be somewhat ostentatious in this connection) given by a child should the mother come to visit from another part of the kingdom; finally, the feast given to mark the occasion of the purchase

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[14] Gifford (*Tongan Society,* p. 108) makes the following statement: [613]
"An example of what would seem an opprobrious epithet for a group of
people is Puaka Haa Ngana (Pigs of the Lineage of Ngana)." It is highly doubtful whether a Tongan would regard this lineage-name as opprobrious. To the villager pigs are not opprobrious or common or
vulgar: they are both glamorous and glorious! The name Puaka is [551]
a not uncommon personal name. None of the villagers felt that such a
name meant anything insulting. It was just a name—and nothing else.

527 of a new cart, wagon or motor-truck—a man's sister's
574 children, dressed in their best clothes, take the first ride in
the new vehicle, thereafter being entertained with a feast
262 of this type, an occasion which would rarely happen in
Pangai where wheeled vehicles are unknown.

[276] *Umu hula:* the *hula* pig and *hula kava* root are second largest in size. A feast with this pig is obligatory first, when close blood or affinal relatives come together after long residence far apart; second, when the parents of a child that one has adopted come from another part of the kingdom to visit the household; third, for the feast that is served the women working together in the village bark cloth-making house.

Umu puaka ha'amo: the pig for this feast is just too heavy to carry by hand and must be tied to a carrying-pole for easy lifting.

Umu fakahunga: this requires a pig of large size but one that is manageable by hand.

Umu kaveitau: it is unnecessary to serve a whole pig with this feast; fish, meat, and chicken form the main flesh-relish with small pieces of pork additional.

527 The last three feasts mentioned above are all in order
574 on occasions of marriage, death, mourning, and the like.
554 The status of the household giving the feast is measured by
the size of pig and *kava*-root employed as the major feature
592 of the feast. Households with few resources would give an
262 *umu kaveitau*; those with greater wealth and resources to
draw on would not be content with less than an *umu puaka ha'amo*. Greater prestige may also be given to any of these feasts by serving several pigs of a named size, or else by serving one large pig together with many pigs of smaller size, or finally, one large pig of named size and many small portions of pork. The variations in service are endless, but the feast is known by the size of the largest pig on display.

527 Two further types of prepared foods are used to mark
minor occasions. The *kai me'a kai* is the name of the collec-
262 tion of food taken by a party going off to spend the day picnicking. The women put much work into preparing the food for such a gathering. The result, therefore, is much different from the order of foods that would be prominent at a white man's picnic. A suckling-pig may often be oven-

527 262 cooked at the picnic place, and large quantities of other food will be eaten.

574 262 794 [431] The *kai tunu* corresponds to the basket of food that figures so prominently in the church-suppers and socials of the white man. In Pangai it is contributed by arrangement for such occasions as an evening devoted to singing sacred songs; for an occasional gift to the pastor of the church, for a carpenter called in to repair the church structure; for the singing and dancing-parties which meet to practise many nights in succession before some large church conference or before the visit of a member of the royal family to Vava'u. If for a group, the food is laid out and eaten after the more serious business of the evening is finished; if for an individual, the food is taken to the household and there eaten in company with household members. It is unlikely that there would be any pork in any of these food-contributions. Possibly a bit of fish or chicken would be included, but mostly the food would be prepared from the regular vegetable staples.

527 574 262 182 On almost all occasions when the villager joins with his fellows for work or play food is served and eaten together. It symbolizes good fellowship (as when a large group is invited to a birthday-feast), token-payment for services rendered(as with a working-party), validation of a socially important contract (as in a marriage-feast), or it serves as a method of marking the arrival or departure of individuals who make up the social group (birth- and death-feasts). On all of these and on other occasions still, when food is served to the group, the satisfaction of hunger is of course important. None who have watched the villager eat at one of these feasts can doubt either his hunger or his capacity for consuming the largest amounts of food. Beyond this, however, the symbolic significance of the feast is not to be overlooked. The villager is certainly well aware that the feast transforms mere eating into an expression of the social values of the group.

574 437 432 262 One further type of food-distribution may be mentioned in this context; that is, a combination of a feast and food-distribution for a specific money-raising purpose. This is the feast termed *aho no*—" borrowing day " (?). It is held on any occasion when the householder wishes to raise a

574 comparatively large sum of money for the purchase of a new
437 boat, a cart, or a house. Thus, Hausia wished to buy a large
432 Tongan-style house with an iron roof from its Pangai-born
262 owner who had left the village to live at Tongatapu. Hausia
proposed to remove this house from its present site and
[435) erect it on his own house lot. The price of the house was
fifteen pounds. Hausia had saved up five pounds. He wished
to raise the rest of the purchase-price as soon as possible.
He announced to the village that he would hold a food-distribution on a certain day. For this distribution he
slaughtered all his pigs and one cow. He also prepared large
quantities of food. On the day of the distribution, members
of each Pangai household and visitors from all the nearby
villages visited Hausia. They were given food to eat and a
section of pork or beef to take home. In return each visitor
574 left with Hausia from two to four shillings as a gift towards
437 the price of the new house. At the end of the day, all Hausia's
432 food had been eaten, all his meat given away, but he had
431 acquired about twelve pounds in money. It may be noted
that the villagers do not think of this transaction as a sale.
They make a gift of money because money is needed. Hausia
makes a return-gift of meat because it is a desirable food.
By this gift-exchange, Hausia raises a substantial sum of
money while villagers and visitors get plenty of food to eat
and meat to take home.

Income and Expenditure

434 As will be evident from the following discussion, Pangai
511 operates today partly on a self-subsistence economy and
partly on a money-economy. Food for the everyday diet is
largely raised through gardening and does not involve the
expenditure of money. Additional delicacies for a feast,
however, generally necessitate recourse to the store. Money-
[432) economy is more importantly involved in the purchase of
clothing, soap, kerosene, matches, and the like.

434 Perhaps the best way to show the manner in which this
511 money-economy is geared to the everyday life of the villager
is to present in some detail the income- and expenditure-
592 accounts of two Pangai households.

Sesoni and his household (2 adults and 5 children) can
very well be taken as representative of the average village

of the second group anything from 10s to £1 per year. 434
Owing to various factors governing the export of Tongan 439
bananas, not only from Tonga as a whole, but also from
Vava'u in particular, these "most favourable circumstances"
are more often conspicuously absent than inconspicuously
present.

Two trading-stations are maintained in Pangai. They 439
are owned by two of the trading-stores in Neiafu. The 443
storekeeper of each station lives in Pangai. He draws a 434
small monthly wage and is responsible for cash-sales at the
station as well as the buying of green copra at prices set by
the Neiafu principals, and the drying of this green copra on
the station drying platforms. In 1938, according to figures [433)
supplied by the Neiafu owners of these two village-stations,
about 115 tons of copra were produced by Pangai village.
This was valued according to prices then ruling at about [435)
£430. The total village-income from copra production for
that year was therefore about this sum. Again, according
to figures given by the trading-stores, the cash sales for the
year 1938 made by these two Pangai stations totalled just
over £306.[15] This last figure does not, of course, cover the
total store expenditure of the Pangai people. Some few of [574)
them occasionally go to Neiafu to visit friends or relatives.
They then take the opportunity to spend what cash they
have available in the larger stores where they can gaze upon
shelves and shelves full of merchandise and groceries to their
hearts' content and for the consideration of some minor
purchase.

The two village-stations give credits according to the 443
discretion of their managers. That this involves risks and 452
necessitates good judgment is suggested by the fact that 437
during the auction of the stocks and assets of one large
store in Neiafu that had closed down, more than £1,000
worth of book debts were sold for £5. The opening bid was

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[15] From the viewpoint of personality study we would still be interested to know why the Tongan manager of one of these village-stations produced at our request, and after the most herculean labours, an itemized account of store sales which purported to show that his store did a cash-business of well over £1,000 for the year 1938 when the books of the European owner of the business showed cash sales of £146! Very likely our good Tongan friend was dreaming of the day when he was going to be the owner of the largest store in Neiafu. [124)

The village overseer, the
434 school-teacher, the pastor, and a man like Biukala who
556 controls three *api*, all find that they are respected for the fact
that their additional wealth makes it possible for them to
574 expend more in the giving of feasts. Power, that is, that
comes from relatively great wealth is used mainly to increase
the size and frequency of one's feasts. To these feasts most
574 of the household heads of the village are invited. Or if
621 they are not invited, then part of the food on display trickles
592 back to their household through gifts to close relatives.
571 Thus, many in the village share in a large feast even though
a relatively few only may actually be present at the eating
431 of the food displayed. There are always obligations to be
paid off to this household or that. Food given as a gift from
one feast may actually change hands several times before it
is all finally consumed: each household having a part in this
chain of exchange will take part of the food-gift and then
pass the rest on to another household to whom it has an
outstanding obligation. Probably no single factor will
434 produce greater changes in village life than the accumula-
556 tion of money for power, rather, than as at present, the use
178 of money to gain prestige through feasts. But this change
is not yet significant in village life.

CHANGES IN CRAFT-ACTIVITIES

178 In considering the various aspects of craft-activities
and the place they occupy today in village economic life, one
sees evident signs of change which suggest something of a
decay in craft-techniques. In fishing-activities for instance,
178 few men bother with net- or line-fishing. Fish of any sort
226 are fairly rare in the daily diet. Not that the villagers have
262 lost a taste for fish. Whenever an occasional successful
fisherman blew a whistle in the village to announce that he
[202] had fish to sell, those who had money to spare would rush to
buy. On these occasions we could give no more acceptable
[431] gift to neighbouring friendly families than a block of fresh
fish. The fact that fish is a delicacy today goes along with
this lack of interest in fishing. This indifference to the sea,
181 noticeably strange in the descendants of a great sea-going
823 people such as the Tongans formerly were, comes out also
868 in other ways. Thus, Pangai is situated on a rise within
[361] one hundred yards or so of a beach. Two or three other

pubic-hair when her child reaches puberty. To drink coconuts 843
opened at the bottom instead of pierced at the top will give her baby an abnormally large mouth. Commenting about, or criticising a person who has any physical defect will result in the child's being born with the same abnormality. Finally, it is dangerous for her to occupy any one position for a length of time, such as sitting upright for a long time or standing bent over her work. If she is not careful about this, she will suffer from abnormally hard labour.

BIRTH

The birth of a first-born child is a more important 844
occasion than the birth of subsequent children. For the first-born, [574]
the father prepares a big feast when labour begins. He sends for the wife's mother to announce the event and all eat together. Both the mother's mother and the father's mother prepare special pandanus plaited mats and on these the child is placed immediately after birth. The other customs surrounding birth are similar for all infants.

Birth takes place within the house. A partition of bark cloth is hung from the rafters to divide the house into the family section and the mother's section. Plenty of soft mats are placed on the floor of the mother's part of the house.
The mother's mother and the father's mother together with [593]
an expert medicine-man attend the mother. She sits on her [606]
mother's lap. The mother massages the back of the [759]
parturient and exerts pressure during labour pains. The medical expert sits in front of the parturient urging her to bear down with all her strength as the labour pains increase.
He takes the baby with his hands as it is born, sucks the [759]
baby's nostrils to clear them of mucous, then turns the baby over on his hand and slaps it vigorously on the back to give it strength. The baby is placed on a bed of white bark cloth next to the mother. A wide band of bark cloth is wound round the mother's waist to give her support, and pressure is exerted until the afterbirth comes away. Cups of cold water are given to the mother to drink. The medicine-man ties the cord with a thread of cotton and places it against a bark cloth beater if the infant is a girl, before cutting the cord with a pair of scissors. If the infant is a boy, the cord is cut resting on a garden hoe. As the cord is snipped, the

844 mother calls out: "*Ko ho manava, mo hoku manava*"—literally, "My breath and your breath." The father takes the afterbirth with the cord attached and digs a hole in the middle of a path near the house. He burns some dry leaves in this hole to warm it and then, when the fire dies down, places the afterbirth in the hole after wrapping it in bark cloth. The hole is then carefully filled in with earth.

Meanwhile the baby is being wiped clean with warm
water. It is wrapped warmly in bark cloth and allowed to
rest in the grandmother's lap. The medicine-man is given
[759] presents in return for his services: mats, bark cloth, food,
[465] sometimes money. The husband prepares a feast with as
big a pig as he can afford. *Kava* is served to all friends
[574] and relatives in the house. When the food is served, the
[262] mother may not eat pork. The most honourable part of the
pig, its back, is given to the medicine-man.

604 Two relatives who will later play an important role in
the child's life, observe a different procedure. The *mᵒheki-*
846 *tanga* (father's sister) may come into the house and hold
601 the child in giving it a name. The *fa'e tangata* (mother's
brother) may not come into the house but spends his time
in the cook-house helping with the feast.

846 For ten days after the birth the mother is confined
entirely to the house. At the end of this time, the infant is
[854] given a warm-water bath by the mother's mother. The
mother may now leave the house to attend to bodily needs,
but stays closely confined in the house for the rest of the day
and night. This confinement lasts for three months in the
case of the first-born, for two months in the case of a second-
born, and thereafter for one month in the case of subsequent
[795] children. A formal baptism in the church marks the end
of this confinement of the mother. After this, the mother
returns to full participation in the work of the household and
in the everyday life of the village.

In the ten day confinement period, the routine is as
follows: Mother and baby lie on separate beds of bark
cloth. The mother's head is wrapped in a turban of bark
[854] cloth and she is covered with layers of bark cloth. Close to
her lies the baby surrounded with an enclosure of bark cloth
over which a piece of cotton or muslin is thrown to keep away
[574] flies. During the first day the father is busy preparing the

feast for the mother's relatives. Inside the house in the 846
public section and separated from the mother by the bark 574
cloth partition, the mother's relatives congregate: three or (602)
four men and perhaps ten or twelve women. A girl makes 846
kava while the group sits talking. A man comes into the 574
house, throws a gift of *kava* onto the floor in the centre of 276
the room and says: "*Malo ae faele*"—"Thank you for the (431)
child's birth." All drink *kava*. *Kava* drinking and talking
continue for the rest of the day. For the second day, visitors
continue to come to the house, but they are fewer and there
is no *kava*-drinking. Male relatives of the mother bring 846
gifts of *kava*, female relatives bring gifts of baby-clothing. 574
After the third day, visitors stop calling at the house. 431
Relatives of the father do not visit during these early days. 602
Toward the end of the ten-day period, they are formally
invited by the father to visit the baby and mother. Food
and *kava* are prepared for their visit.

It is to be noted that the mother's relatives receive first 846
attention and are the only visitors allowed the mother during 574
the early days of the confinement. Only later are the father's 602
relatives present, and then only by invitation. According to 829
village theory, the mother is presenting her husband's household with an item of great value. It is right, therefore, that she and her family should be honoured above all others. For the moment, the mother's family is active. The father's group is merely the passive recipient of the gift of new life. It is right, therefore, that this group should occupy a background position in the birth celebrations.

NAMING

The infant is named within a few hours after birth. 553
The name is given by the father's sister *(mehekitanga)*, by 604
her son or daughter, or by some other close relative of the
father's sister. This person formally asks the privilege of
giving the name or, rather, of naming the name by which
the child shall be known. At the same time she gives the (431)
child a present of clothing or a small baby-mat. Three days (574)
later, the father makes a feast for the name-giver and she
receives gifts of mats and bark cloth which have been (431)
collected together by the father's mother and the mother's
mother.

553 604 ●574 431 [844] [562] mother. The exchange of presents is greatest for a first-born son, greater for a first-born girl than for subsequent girls, greater for a first boy than for subsequent boys or girls.

GROWING UP

121 No systematic study was made of the life of children. The following note on one aspect only of this life is to be understood as only a statement of what appears to the observer of village life as obvious and frequent.

857 [561] Children play frequently in groups which number up to ten or more members. There is little age stratification because most older children, older girls particularly, have the responsibility of being nursemaids for younger children and infants. Thus it is natural that the younger children should be members of a gang-group that is led by older children. The typical group, therefore, includes children between the ages of sixteen months and seven years. These gangs spend much of their time exploring and playing in [865] the bush or on the beach. A good deal of aggressive behaviour is displayed within the group. Shouts and laughter of one moment give place to tears in the next as an older child picks up a coconut-switch and unmercifully beats one of the younger children for some disobedience.

854 855 As long as the infants are babes in arms they are petted, pampered, and played with. From the age of eighteen months or so onwards, the children are thrown on their own resources. This means that they are free to go where they will or where they can. The mothers expect assistance and obedience if the children are playing round the house when some simple task comes to hand. The child who disobeys or 855 861 who is thought lazy in carrying out a command is generally severely beaten by the mother. The beatings, which appear to be village-practice in enforcing discipline, are almost all carried out by adult women or by older children. The men of the household are generally away from the village all day, working in their gardens. We never saw a man direct more than the mildest of verbal reproofs toward his child. The whippings and beatings are women's work. In one instance only did we hear of a man beating a youngster. This was the case of Bovai who became enraged over the alleged laziness of his adopted son, aged fifteen years. The

881 that it is *tapu* to work, to cook, or to wash clothes during
the menstrual period. The mother also explains that the girl
[867] must from now onward observe all the *tapu* associated with
[593] the attitudes of respect *(fakaapaapa)* which the girl hence-
[602] forward observes in regard to her brothers.[21]

Between the ages of ten and twelve the boy is super-
881 cised. If the operator should be a native medicine man the
304 occasion is marked with a small feast and a gift to the expert.
178 Today, however, it is general custom in the village to send the
743 boy to the hospital in Neiafu where a free operation is per-
759 formed by the Tongan native practitioner. There is little
feasting or gift-giving. It is still very necessary for a boy to
be operated upon if he is not to suffer shame for the rest of
his life as one abnormal and despised. But with the ease and
simplicity of the hospital operation, there has been a sort of
178 shifting of responsibility for the whole matter onto the shoul-
881 ders of the white doctor. The operation has, therefore, be-
304 come a routine affair with no connected overtones of emotion
152 or anxiety on the part of the parents of the boy. With the
574 passing of anxiety there has also passed any felt necessity
431

881
178
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[21] There is great change here as compared with ancient practice. Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 186) notes that chiefly families still observe old-time ceremonial connected with a girl's first menstruation. He adds: "These observances were formerly general." The note in the text concerning male supercision should also be compared with Gifford's account (*Tongan Society*, pp. 187-189) of boys' puberty-observances. Formerly the operation was technically a matter of supercision; today this is still the common practice. After this paper was completed Dr. Lopdell sent us the following note which amplifies the material given in the text. Dr. Lopdell writes: Vava'u practice is pretty general throughout Tonga. Child, or rather infant, superincision is practically unknown. Boys come to the hospital in Neiafu when between the ages of nine and twelve years; ten years is an average age. There are a few native medicine men who operate in the villages but I think that it is safe to say that the medical department does about ninety per cent. of the operations. Often a gang of boys, say ten to twenty boys of about the same age and from the same village, come to the hospital on the same day. The boys make a colourful cutter load of human freight if they come, dressed in their best clothes, from one of the distant villages far down Vava'u harbour. The operation is usually performed by one of the hospital boys. It consists of a simple scissors cut along the dorsal line of the prepuce. A local anaesthetic is given. On returning to the [574] village a small feast may be held but there is no fuss or bother made about the operation.

to mark what is now a non-critical period by feasting and 881
gift-giving. Presumably the boy may still suffer from 304
anxiety over the operation, but he is after all, only a boy. 178
Neither parents nor village see any necessity to concern 152
themselves greatly with the emotions of a mere boy when 574
they are experienced out of sight and out of sound in a distant 431
hospital. The situation has obviously changed greatly from the time when surgery was carried out in the village without the aid of anaesthetics, sterile instruments and specific operator's skill.

COURTSHIP 832

The average village man's idea of a woman who is beautiful emphasises first of all the fact that she should be fat in every part of her body. Her eyes should be far apart. There should be a slight prognathism and everted lips. Skin should be a medium brown, not too fair and not too dark. The feet should be large and well formed. Conversely, a woman whose skin is very dark or one whose bust is large but whose buttocks and feet are small, is looked upon with small favour by the idealists. Naturally, few women in
Pangai measure up to the ideal. One who chooses a mate [584]
or begins a courtship must overlook much and weigh the preferential value of skin colour against size of buttocks or feet.

The mother exercises considerable supervision over her 593
nubile daughter. An industrious girl, well chaperoned, is 882
likely to make a good marriage. An unchaperoned girl who 584
shows signs of laziness, who is on a familiar joking-relation- 156
ship with many men, or who visits much about the village instead of staying home quietly working, may be attractive to some young men, but the elders see to it that no easy marriage will be arranged. The model mother will not allow her daughter to walk unescorted at night. Our housegirl's home was barely 200 feet from our house, but the girl's mother would always send a younger sister or brother to escort the girl home after dark from one house to the other.

It is difficult to judge whether pre-marital sex-relations 836
are common among the young people of the village. All informants were positive that with the exception of two doubtful cases, all the young unmarried girls in the village

836 were virgins. This is probably true, but it is likely that more
freedom is allowed post-adolescent boys to enjoy what
experiences they can in any other village than Pangai. One
woman in Pangai is alleged to be a prostitute *(lele tau).*
[548] Probably she has gained this reputation because of promiscuous habits and a natural tendency on the part of some
young men to bring her an occasional gift. Some after
[882] dark chaperoning is also due to fear of ghosts on the part
[775] of young girls, especially if messages or missions take them
close to the bush that surrounds the village. But present
[183] ideals of chastity in girls undoubtedly receive considerable
[795] support from Christian religious sanctions. Both the ideal
and the sanction are stressed continually in Protestant
church teaching and in Catholic convent-schooling.

584 Nothing can suggest more vividly current practices of courtship in Pangai than the following account of events in Biukala's life that led up to his marriage:

One day, when Biukala was twenty-three years old, his father asked him which of the many girls of his acquaintance would be his choice for a marriage-mate. Biukala answered that he was not pleased with any of these girls, some he thought were pretty only, and none of them seemed clever. Many Pangai girls had sought excuse to visit his father's house, ostensibly bringing messages for his mother, but in reality trying to display their charms before a personable young man. His father's question served the purpose of bringing the matter of his marriage before Biukala's mind, so he thought he would visit other villages to see if he could find a more suitable mate than was available in Pangai. He already had a mistress in Neiafu whom he occasionally visited, but he did not consider her seriously as a mate.

584 One day as he was on his way to visit some relatives
in an isolated village in Vava'u, he passed through the village
574 of Ha'akio and was casually invited to stop and drink some
276 *kava* that was being prepared for a group of men, mostly
old men with three or four younger men talking idly among
themselves. The girl Sepi was making the *kava*. Biukala
immediately noticed her skill, youth, and quiet assurance.
He sat drinking *kava* all the afternoon and evening, studying
584 the girl carefully. Instead of going on to visit his relatives
he returned to Pangai, thought about the matter for four

days, then went back to Ha'akio again. He conjured up some 584
excuse to talk to the girl's mother and to Sepi herself.

For the following three months he visited Ha'akio, usually once each week. He discussed marriage with Sepi and when she seemed agreeable, he proceeded to discuss the matter further with her father and relatives. They looked with disfavour on his suit, alleging that he was too young. Probably they were unsure as yet whether this was the best marriage that Sepi could make. After this rebuff, Biukala [583]
tried to persuade Sepi to agree to a runaway marriage. She would not, insisting that Biukala must try again to obtain her relatives' assent, as was the proper Tongan custom.

By this time Biukala decided that strong measures were necessary if anything was to come of his courtship. He persuaded his father and four of the older men of his family to go to Ha'akio and consult with the menfolk of Sepi's family. Biukala stayed in Pangai. The men took with them the largest sized root of *kava*, a forty-pound tin of biscuits, and some mats, as a present to Sepi's household. After an all-day *kava*-session together with much discussion, Sepi's family was persuaded to agree to the marriage. This took 585
place the following week. It was the biggest marriage-feast 574
ever held in Pangai. Sepi's father provided about fifty pigs. Biukala's father, feeling that the honour of his household was at stake, added a further seventy pigs to the celebration.

In elaborating on the virtues of Sepi, Biukala noted that 584
her household was fairly wealthy in pigs and food, that Sepi
had spent ten years in a mission-school in Neiafu. She had 581
been well trained in both the arts of Tonga and of the white woman. She was skilful at making *kava*, mats, and bark cloth. She could also cook white man's food, could knit and wash clothes. She was industrious, clean, and had had plenty of experience in bringing up the numerous younger children in her household. Biukala never remarked about his wife's (832)
beauty. According to village ideals, indeed, she had little.

This account of Biukala emphasizes many facets of 584
village-culture today. There is no suggestion of romantic 178
love. There is a cool weighing of advantages before courtship begins. There is interest in securing a mate who has had opportunity to learn some of the white woman's skills. Knowing her worth in this connection, the girl's family is

582 from other villages in Vava'u, and seventeen per cent. married women from outside Vava'u. Of this last number, five of the women were from Ha'apai and Tongatapu, one was from Samoa. In fifty-seven per cent. of the marriages made by Pangai men (born and in residence in Pangai), the practice is therefore for the mates to come from villages other than Pangai. Nine Vava'u villages are represented in this connection: two of them are the residences of three mates each, one of two mates each, and six of one mate each. There is perhaps some apparent tendency therefore, for Pangai men to prefer and choose mates from some villages rather than others, but the preference is not pronounced, nor does there appear to be specific reason for this preference other than chance.

There is likewise a similar tendency (implicit in the table above) for Pangai women to marry in about the same proportions outside of Pangai village. In other words, more than half the men of Pangai look for marriage mates out-
582 side of their own village. There is also evident in the table a slight tendency for Pangai women to marry men from other
591 villages who break the rule of patrilocal residence and take up residence matrilocally, that is, in the village of their wives. This accounts for the fact that nine non-Pangai men have married Pangai women and have taken up Pangai residence thereafter; whereas, according to rule, the women should have left Pangai and gone to reside in the villages of their husbands. This number is not really so large as it seems. Of the six men in this Table 11,[A] shown as having birthplaces outside Vava'u, two are from Niuafo'ou and two are from Uvea. All four had taken up residence in Pangai before their marriage to Pangai women. They had attached themselves to already established Pangai households and were considered to all intents and purposes as Pangai
582 residents. The marriages of Pangai men to non-Pangai
574 women have been initiated by contacts made with these
584 women in the course of the men's visits to other villages in Vava'u or through a much more occasional visit to relatives in other parts of the kingdom.

582 The figures suggest in sum, that the village is far from being in-grown in the matter of marriage choices. Because of the fact that many are related to most within the village

A. [See category 116 p. 89--Analyst]

585 the house. On these mats are sitting the groom's mother's
585 brother (his *fa'e tangata*, called at this time his *fa'e huki*,
604 "lap mother"), and the bride's mother's younger sister.
The groom sits in the lap of his mother's brother, the bride
in the lap of her mother's sister. They continue to sit thus
until the *kava* drinking is finished.

585 *Kava* is made and drunk with special ceremony. The
276 bowl is placed before the bride and groom. It is the largest
possible bowl and in front of the bowl is the largest possible
root of *kava (kava toho).*[33] The *kava* and the accompanying
food are provided by the fathers of both bride and groom.
Four men out of the group of those present (termed
collectively *tou'a*) are selected to prepare the *kava*-root. The
root is cut carefully into three sections. The middle section
[777] is laid aside because it brings bad luck to use it. From the
two end pieces, the drink is prepared after these pieces have
been scraped and cleaned. Two sets of pounding-stones are
set on two mats and two men of the group of four slowly
pound the *kava* root into small pieces. The groom invites an
expert to make the *kava*. He sits before the bowl and
prepares the drink from the root as it is passed to him by the
pounders. The expert makes great display of skill as he
goes through the routine of *kava* making.

585 When the *kava* is ready, the person who is presiding over
276 the circle calls for the *kava*-relish *(fono kava)*. The largest
pig *(puaka toho)* is divided in such fashion that the back is
574 presented to the bride's father's sister's child (the bride's
262 *fahu*) and the remainder is divided equally among all the
[605] other members of the *kava* circle. Food from the oven is also
divided among all those present. Neither pork nor other food
may be eaten at this time. It is taken home and eaten after
the *kava*-drinking is finished. Now the *kava*-cups are called
and after the first round is finished the bride and groom leave
the group.

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[804] [33] *Kava* roots are classified in size and named with the same size terms that are applied to pigs. Thus there is *kava toho, kava hula, kava ka'amo, kava fuataha*, just as there are pigs—*puaka toho, puaka hula*, etc. A feast at which a pig of the largest size is served, a *puaka toho*, must also serve a *kava toho*, *kava* of the largest size, and so on in gradations for size of pig, size of *kava* and status of feast.

585 [602] [574] The marriage is usually consummated on the night of this same day. Relatives of bride and groom meet together at the groom's house. They eat, drink *kava* and sing songs for part of the night. In another room of the house or in the same room but in a section of the house screened off by bark cloth partitions, the marriage is consummated. In the morning care is taken to inspect the bedding or clothing of the bride. If she is proved to have been a virgin, the groom's [574] father immediately prepares a further large feast which he presents to the bride's mother as a symbol of gratitude for her successful efforts in preserving the chastity of his son's bride.

585 833 Bride and groom are now considered safely and successfully married. According to village pattern, they have intercourse at least twice each night. The customary position is the prone position with the man above. Less frequent intercourse is excused, just a shade shamefully, on the grounds that the bones of the wife are too small and [841] weak. There are no *tapu* against intercourse during the menstrual period.

585 526 The aftermath of all this feasting and gift giving may often weigh heavily on the families of the bride and groom. They must see to it that relatives who have contributed pigs, mats, and food are repaid in kind. If the marriage has not been prepared for many months in advance, then repayment may have to be made over many successive months after the marriage. Insofar as every effort is made to establish the [554] status of the groom's family in terms of the quantities of food and gifts displayed and consumed, the obligations incurred may often assume for the groom's household a crippling burden of responsibility that necessitates great labour and planning before all the obligations are finally cleared away.

585 178 So far the description has been in terms of formal pattern. The following example of an actual marriage may now be presented to show both additions and limitations on the pattern:

584 593 One day Paula, aged nineteen, came to tell his older brother Tui that he wished to marry the girl Meletautuli of the nearby village of Toula. Tui is considered much more mature and sensible than the still older brother Kali. Hence

the family always defers to Tui and consults him in 584
preference to his older brother although the latter is 593
theoretically the head of the family. Tui at first refused to
allow the marriage on the grounds that Paula was too
young. Paula persisted in his request until Tui gave his
assent. Then Paula asked permission to marry from his 584
own mother's brother *(fa'e tangata)*, Semisi. Semisi was 604
agreeable. Finally Paula was sent to obtain the permission
of his father's brother (his own father was dead). This
permission too, was given, and the date fixed by the father's
brother for the next day. All Meletautuli's relatives agreed 584
to the marriage also. Had any of the parties consulted been
unwilling, the marriage would have been postponed.

On the day following all this consultation, Paula 585
together with Tui, Kali, and some friends visited Paula's
father's brother at his home in the nearby village of Toula
carrying a gift of six large yams, ten giant-sized *taro*, and
three small pigs. At about the same time, Melenaite (not
to be confused with the bride Meletautuli) who is Paula's
mother's sister, sent Fa (another sister of Paula's mother),
Litea (Paula's own sister), Loise (mother's younger sister's
daughter of Eniketi, Tui's wife), and Pohiva (Kali's wife)
to the village of Toula to prepare Paula's ceremonial
marriage-skirt *(vala)*. The women took with them about
one fathom of white bark cloth, one fine plaited mat of the
type known as *fihu*, and five plaited mats of the kind called
kie. The bark cloth and mats were all owned by Melenaite.
In Toula, Meletautuli's mother had already got together the
four *kie* mats that were to serve as the bride's ceremonial
skirt. After eating and *kava* drinking, the party all set out [574)
for Neiafu to secure the marriage license. When they (276)
arrived at the town, it was discovered that the bride was only [582)
seventeen years old. Her mother was sent for to give
permission to the marriage. The license was then issued, [435)
Tui paying the fee of six shillings. Then the group went to
the church where the religious ceremony was performed.
Again Tui paid the fee, this time the sum of four shillings. [435)
Tui then hired a motor lorry to carry the party back to [494)
Toula. For the truck-hire he paid three shillings.

After the arrival back at Toula, an oven was opened, [574)
the food laid out on coconut-leaf mats, and all sat down to

585 eat. Most of the party then returned to Pangai, but the
[574] bride and groom, chaperoned by Fa stayed in Toula until
evening. At this time, this second group returned to Pangai
together with the remainder of the bride's family. Mele,
[292] the bride, was wearing her ceremonial skirt, the rest of the
party carrying the sleeping outfit *(mohenga)* which is her
[513] gift to her husband. This outfit consisted of two sleeping-mats,
two small coverings of bark cloth, two pillows and a
[556] basket in which her ceremonial skirt will be kept (this
[565] outfit, incidentally, is rather poor; a wealthier commoner
girl would have at least twelve sleeping-mats in her outfit as
well as many fathoms of bark cloth).

585 In Pangai the wedding party met at Semisi's house (the
574 mother's brother of the groom). Tui's wife, Eniketi, brought
a small piece of bark cloth suitable for a skirt. This she
296 placed round the bride's waist after removing the one the
bride was already wearing. Semisi had meanwhile prepared
a feast. It consisted of four large yams, four giant *taro,*
and a small pig. While the food was cooking, a *kava*-circle
was formed. It consisted of four women including the bride
and eleven men, all relatives of the bride and groom. The
groom Paula, pounded the root while the woman Loise made
the *kava.* The cups of *kava* were called by the groom's
mother's mother's sister's son. When the *kava* was finished,
the oven was opened and all went outside to eat. This was
about nine o'clock in the evening.

More *kava* was served inside the house. There was
[533] singing and solo-dancing by the bride's younger sister until
[535] two o'clock in the morning. When she finished dancing, the
younger sister was given a small bark-cloth skirt by Eniketi.
At this time all the *kava* was finished and the bride's group
585 returned to their own village of Toula. Tui and his wife
slept at one end of the house while the bride and groom
833 slept at the other end of the house. There was no intercourse
on this night nor for the four following nights (five
nights in all). Intercourse with a virgin is termed *fai hono
api,* " to make or cultivate a plantation " (the more general
term for intercourse being *unoho*)—an obvious reference
to a metaphorical planting of seed in the woman—and in
village theorizing, a groom shows his respect and affection
for his bride by waiting five nights or six or longer for his

first intercourse; the longer the period of waiting, the 585 833
greater the affection.

On Friday, Tui made a small feast for his family. On 585
Sunday he again made another feast, larger this time. It 574
consisted of ten giant *taro*, four large yams and two large pigs (of the third size, *ha'amo*). Many of the bride's family 585
came to Pangai from Toula bringing with them gifts of 431
mats: Vikai, a distant relative of the bride, brought five *kie*-mats for the groom's ceremonial skirt; the bride's mother 602
brought four *kie*-mats for the bride. These mats were put 574
on and the whole group went to the church service. After the service, another relative of the bride presented her with one length of bark cloth and one *kie*-skirt, other relatives doing likewise later in the day. All these mats and bark cloth presented to the couple by both bride and groom's relatives became part of the "trousseau" outfit of the married couple. They will be stored up, used as required, and then passed on as gifts to other relatives when they in turn get married. The bark cloth may in time wear out, but it is replaced by the bark cloth that the bride will herself make. The mats will last for many years and thus play their part in the endless chain of reciprocal gift-giving whereby the kinship bonds are strengthened and validated by consensually-accepted symbols.

Following upon this presentation, which always consists 585
of the giver's taking off the garment the recipient is wearing 574
and substituting for it the garment which is presented, the oven was opened. All the food was presented to the bride's family who immediately wrapped the food up in coconut-containers and set off for their home village carrying the food with them.

On the following Tuesday night the marriage was 585
finally consummated. The bride was too exhausted to rise the next morning, but Tui's wife noticed that there was blood on her dress. Tui immediately set to work to make a further [574]
oven consisting of three yams, eight giant *taro*, and one pig. Word was sent to the bride's mother who came hurrying over from Toula accompanied by her sisters. The oven was opened, food eaten, and remains packed up by the mother when she returned to Toula. For the following seven nights

when they are sure that high feeling has died down. The 583
groom's father will often give a small feast when the runaway 593
couple returns to Pangai. The bride's parents are [574]
generally much more angry, probably because they always
feel that a better marriage could have been possible for their 583
daughter. It is not uncommon for the bride's parents to 593
refuse to see either their daughter or her husband for two 606
or more years—and then to relent only when their desire to see their new grandchild becomes overwhelming. Even then, the first overtures to peace always come from the groom. It is hinted to him that the anger of his parents-in-law has abated somewhat. He secures the largest possible pig. Accompanied by his wife, his child and his pig, he comes [431]
to Pangai and lays the pig down in front of his parents'-in-law house. If the pig is accepted, and it generally is, then reconciliation occurs and the young couple no longer find it inconvenient or uncomfortable to live away from their home village. Sometimes the parents of both bride and groom agree to celebrate the Tongan side of the marriage forthwith. At other times, they all agree to forget the past, thankful enough that at least the young people are married according to church-ritual.

It is hard to judge the attitude of the villagers to these 583
runaway marriages, or elopements, as compared with their 178
attitude to the more formal marriages. Some young people 829
are inclined to shrug their shoulders and say that the Tongan marriage causes fuss and trouble without adding anything to the validity of the marriage-contract. Older people however, and perhaps the more unthinking young still feel that there is an essential rightness about the Tongan customs and that it is not good to break with them even though one can be legally married without observing them. And certainly, if one's family claims any particular status in the village or enjoys some measure of respect, it would be unthinkable on the part of the elders that the younger members of the family should be married without feasting and gift-giving. One would expect considerable change in the future: generally a tendency for the young to take matters into their own hands, knowing that they need have no shame provided their marriage is church blessed; knowing also that in this way they save their families the expense and trouble of feast-preparation and gift-giving.

764 The village undertaker is usually in charge of the corpse
767 at the grave. He is called to the house only if expert
services are required in laying out the body. If, for instance,
there were complications in the death, or if the mouth or
nose began to bleed, then the expert would be called in to
arrange everything in a decent manner.

764 The grave has been dug by relatives during the night.
[602] Other relatives have been at work before dawn preparing
the oven for the funeral feast. The food continues to cook
while the body is being interred. When the corpse reaches
the cemetery, it is lowered into the grave. The undertaker
[767] gets into the grave also and arranges the mats and bark
cloth round the body. He puts a large stone on top of the
body to anchor it to the grave. Then he climbs out and the
[533] grave is filled in. There is singing and praying while this is
[782] being done. Finally the village overseer stands on the grave
and makes a brief statement in which he urges the mourners
[644] to still their grief. He also announces the arrangements
for the funeral feast and *kava*-drinking.

764 A *kava*-circle is formed on an open space near to the
mourners' house. The village overseer is invited to preside.
276 On his left hand sits the undertaker and on his right sits the
574 man who acts as attendant chief *(matapule)* to the village
767 overseer. As the *kava* is being made, the ovens are opened.
Then when the *kava* is clear and ready for drinking, the
624 undertaker orders the food to be displayed. If special
565 formality is desired, five stalks of sugar-cane are brought
644 forward at this time. One stalk is placed before the overseer, two before the undertaker, and two before the attendant
chief. The undertaker and the attendant each break their
stalks into a sufficient number of pieces so that there is one
piece for each of the men of the *kava* circle. This sugar cane
[784] then constitutes the *kava*-relish *(fono ac kava)*.[24] It is *tapu*
to smoke tobacco at any time during this funeral celebration.

764 The *kava* is now served. The undertaker receives the
276 first cup. He pours the *kava* from the cup handed him into
574 a special *tapu* cup that he carries with him. The other

767 [24] It is common today in the village for the *fahu* to take the *kava*-relish presented to his mother's brother, a custom which Gifford notes
[178] (*Tongan Society*, p. 24) as "anciently not extensively practised among commoners."

764
276 members drink from the cups provided for the circle. After
574 one round of *kava* is finished, the undertaker makes a brief
767 speech which runs as follows:

> [537] "Thank you, O chiefly people, for coming to the funeral of
> [539] this man. Now he rests quietly in his last resting-place. Tomorrow you will all gather together again. We shall finish this funeral on the morrow. We shall finish the work of making the deceased a chiefly person. Then everything will be finished as it should be. Now there is nothing more to do."

[576] The references to chiefly people in these words are merely polite exaggerations indicating respect for the deceased and respect also for those present. They mean, "important people," not people of noble rank, for none in this commoner village has any illusions over his ultimate status in this world.

764 The *kava*-circle breaks up. Each man or family
574 represented goes home with his or its division of the food which is eaten with other members of the family.

765 On the afternoon of this day, the family of the deceased goes back to the cemetery to spend the afternoon wailing and chanting.

Early next morning, the family and its relatives go to the cemetery at dawn. The men clear away the weeds from the grave. The women go to the nearest beach, bring back clean sand and coral-pebbles to strew on the grave. When
765 this decorating work is finished, another feast is held.
Uncooked food, generally ripe bananas, ripe plantains, sugar
574 cane, melons, papaia, pineapples, bread, is collected together
276 and placed in an open space near the cemetery. A *kava*-
767 circle is formed with the undertaker presiding. Again, when the *kava* is clear and ready for serving, the undertaker orders the food to be divided. After one round, he makes a further speech of thanks to all those who have attended and helped with the decorating of the grave.

765 Commencing with the night following the burial and for the following ten nights, there is a strict mourning-period
602 (*mohe* or *nofoaki putu*) for all the close relatives of the deceased. Only the women sleep in the bereaved house. By day, men and women work bringing food from the bush to feed the group; part of each day is also spent carrying

grave-pebbles and sand to decorate further the grave. On 765
the tenth day, the close male relatives prepare a large feast 602
to bring this mourning period to a close *(fakamalele ae putu)*.
The food is kept until nightfall when all the young boys and 765
girls in the village, all the unmarried youth, that is, from 602
puberty onwards, are invited to come to the deceased's house 574
there to dance, sing and be joyful. The older people sit 276
drinking *kava* and watching the fun. After the first making of the *kava*, the feast is divided among all present, young and old. The merry-making and *kava*-drinking continue until an early hour in the next morning. Then the people gather up their food-divisions and return home. The period of mourning is over. Relatives return to their own villages, if they have come from afar. The everyday life of the village can renew itself.

For the death of an important individual in the village, 765
this ten-day mourning-period is considered sufficient. During [784)
this time it is *tapu* for anyone in the village to sing, dance,
or make bark cloth. For an important noble, the mourning- 765
period may last for six months or more. The status of the
deceased is shown by the length of his mourning-period and 565
the consequent *tapu* on any joyful activities or on bark cloth 554
making. 784

Semisi, the resident village undertaker *(ha'a tufunga)* 764
is of no high social class. He inherited his skill from his
father who was undertaker before him. Semisi would not 767
attempt to embalm a body. He limits his job to the arrangement of the corpse in the house (if this is necessary) and to a general superintendence over the burial. For his services
Semisi is paid with bark cloth, mats, and food. Semisi has 767
the right to the honorific name of Manafa, a name conferred 554
on him by the high chief Lepakuku of the village of Leimatua. This name not only increases Semisi's importance in the village—it is the name by which he is called in a *kava* circle—but it gives him the right to practice undertaking anywhere in Tonga. In other words, it makes him a sort of recognized member of the informal guild of Tongan undertakers. After
each burial, Semisi is in a *tapu* state for two or three days. [784)
He eats by himself and does not take any part in food-
preparation. An undertaker of the highest social class must (264)
(252)

old woman's broad jokes. These sallies are directed at the 766
cause of the infant's death which the old woman thought 858
was due to over-indulgence in sugar-cane. While a pad of 593
bark cloth is pushed under the infant's chin to hold up its 603
head, the mourners speculate quietly on the fate that has [761]
overtaken the mother's offspring: eight born, four alive, [165]
four dead.

The two old women wipe the dead body and oil it, then wrap it in bark cloth. Finally the mother returns with mats. The body is laid out on the floor and covered with a fine mat up to the neck. The mother now starts wailing over her child, calling out for her brother (the *fa'e tangata* of the dead child) and regretting he is not present. The grandmother chants phrases expressing the wish that the child should have life again. After each call she bends over the child and kisses its face. The father comes in with fly-switches for the mourners. He sits by the head of his child crying quietly. The grandmother soon stops wailing. The
mother continues for a further two hours. Suddenly, the [292]
father remembers that he is without his ceremonial skirt.
He goes off to his house to find it and put it on.

In the afternoon, the pastor of the church comes to the 766
house and holds a prayer meeting over the body. In the 794
evening and all night long, members of the church, of the 782
family and relatives sing hymns and pray. The father digs 858
the grave during the night.

On the following morning at dawn, after regular church 766
attendance, all the men and women of the village dress in 858
their ceremonial skirts and go to the house of death. [794]
Presently the procession moves to the cemetery, the body [292]
of the dead child carried in the arms of the father's brother.
There follow at the grave prayers, hymn-singing and then
the quick burial.

The women of the family of the dead child return to the 765
mother's mother's house where the women form a *kava*- 858
circle. The men of the family meet in the mother's brother's 574
house for *kava*. This division of the sexes is unusual for a 276
funeral *kava*-circle. The reason given in this case was that 766
the mother's mother's house was too small for all the
mourners. Some of the women boiled food which was later

765 served to all the mourners. This again is most unusual
858 for a funeral-feast, which should be a large quantity of oven-
574 baked food including the inevitable pig. However, the village
276 overseer had suggested that because the deceased was an
766 infant and because he had died two days after Christmas and
thus in the middle of the holiday-making time, it would be advisable not to trouble with an oven. The parents, being poor, were only too glad to acquiesce in such advice. The mourners disbanded about midday. There was no ten-day mourning period.

766 This account emphasizes the somewhat casual fashion
858 in which an immature infant may be buried as compared
with the burial of an important adult. It must be remembered, however, that the family of the dead child had apparent right to be more casual than most village families would have been in similar circumstances. This was their fourth infant dead. None of the remaining children in this family looked the picture of anything except ill-health and hence the parents could probably expect further deaths among their offspring. It is most likely, however, that little of this casualness would be evident if death had happened to take the first-born and favourite son of affectionate parents.
761 Presumably like most people everywhere, the villagers infuse
152 dynamic quality into the observance of custom according to
the strength of attitude and feeling that they experience.
[765] Where death is not unexpected, or where family status is not
at stake, mourning may become casual. Where it is un-
[594] expected, or where deep affection is involved, or where family
status is at test, then observance of custom becomes charged with all the emotional quality of deeply-felt experience.

MEDICINE

757 For most of his aches, pains, and sicknesses the villager
759 prefers treatment from one of the recognized experts in the
village. He consents to treatment from the white doctor
[743] only if his trouble obstinately refuses to yield to Tongan
[177] types of cure, and some friend or relative, more sceptical of
Tongan medicine, can persuade him to visit the hospital in
753 Neiafu. In general, however, the villager probably feels
775

177 A practitioner, therefore, who gives the Tongan only
759 what he can absorb and adapt to at the present phase of
829 cultural change, may thoroughly shock the rigorously-trained
white doctor (forgetful as the latter may be at times of the
757 stubborn resistance to modern medicine among the less-enlightened members of his own culture). But at the same time, such a practitioner may in the long run be doing more for the health of the Tongan by giving the patient what he can take instead of what he ought to need, than all the most freely available refinements of surgical skill and drug therapy. Recognition of a sick Tongan rather than of a disease with a Tongan attached thereto is indubitably one of the more important lessons in the book called culture contact!

KAVA-DRINKING

574 *Kava*-drinking in Pangai is a purely social activity.
276 For some few men the social significance is outweighed by
an addiction to the drink which drives them to drink *kava* more for the drinking's sake than for the opportunities which the drinking provides for social intercourse. These men are
574 exceptional, however. For the rest *kava*-drinking provides
the excuse for meetings where everything that can possibly
571 come within the intellectual horizon of the villager is argued and discussed again and again. For young people these meetings offer an opportunity to listen to their elders talk. In this way they learn much of the stock information and
574 traditions of the village. This of course applies only to
571 young men. Young women are not present at these parties,
except only the young girl who has been chosen to make the
562 *kava*. But girls may participate as listeners in the smaller and more occasional parties initiated by older women for women only. Older women may also be present at the men's parties, particularly those women of the household in which the party is being held. An older woman or two are most
[584] likely to be present at the party if it is pretty clear that it has been started by a young man wishing to court the girl of the household who is acting as *kava*-maker.

574 A record was kept for sixteen days of the frequency of *kava*-parties in the village. There is no reason to assume that the number of parties held during these days was in any

way abnormal. All days were days of hard work in the 574
gardens following the working-lull of Christmas and New 574
Year holidays. They were also days of sometimes heavy 461
rain. This also increased the agricultural tempo because a (134)
wet soil makes both planting and cultivation easier. On one (241)
day only of these sixteen was there no *kava*-making. For the remaining fifteen days altogether forty-five *kava*-parties were held: eight in the morning, sixteen in the afternoon
and twenty-one in the evening. The houses at which the 574
parties were held is shown in the following Table 12. 592

TABLE 12.—FREQUENCY OF KAVA PARTIES AT VARIOUS HOUSEHOLDS. 551

	PARTIES			
Household Head	Morning	Afternoon	Evening	Total
Koloamatangi	2	3	4	9
Tevita	2	—	1	3
Ofa	2	—	—	2
Puaka	1	2	2	5
Pili	1	3	—	4
Biukala	—	3	2	5
Halahingano	—	1	—	1
Talivakaola	—	1	—	1
Afu	—	2	1	3
Eneti	—	1	2	3
Heu	—	—	2	2
Hausia	—	—	5	5
Tapaka	—	—	2	2
Total	8	16	21	45

It will be noted from this table that certain houses are 574
more popular than others as meeting places. The relative 342
popularity of a house seems to depend upon its largeness, its 592
coolness, its relative freedom from mosquitoes, the likeli-
hood of finding interesting company there, the frequency 584
with which the household-head himself begins the party, the 571
presence among the household members of a young girl adept at *kava*-making, the general hospitality or tolerance of the household-head to late hours (some evening parties continue until an early hour of the next morning, even until daylight), and finally, the extent to which the youth of the village are using the *kava*-party as an opportunity to court the girl of a particular household. All the houses in which

574 four or more parties were held during the sixteen day period
342 were large; the one in which nine were held is the large
592 house of the village overseer—men drift in there to pick up
584 any late gossip, to discuss island affairs; Biukala's house is
571 large and cool with a spacious verandah where the party
could continue even though the household-head retired to an
inner room to sleep; in Hausia's house, the eldest daughter,
besides being a skilled *kava*-maker, was an attraction to the
village youth.

574 Most of the morning and afternoon parties were small
461 and were held at the houses of elderly men (three of them
church-pastors, one the village overseer) not actively
engaged in daily agricultural work. The evening parties
were much larger and usually attended by the men who had
been gardening and working during the day. *Kava*-parties
are regularly held after Sunday mid-morning church and
dinner. They are also customary in the afternoons when
the men feel that the seasonal agricultural work is such that
a morning's work only in the bush plantations is sufficient.
[276] Visitors to a household from another village are always
offered kava as a gesture of welcome.

276 The roots used for making the *kava* may either be
bought in the village store or else obtained from the plantation.
432 The *kava*-plant is slow growing. Not all men have
[249] the patience to plant, wait for maturity, then dry properly.
Nor do all men have the money to spare for store-purchase.
276 Note was made of those contributing *kava*-root to the parties.
Some twenty men contributed: nine men once each, five men
twice each, five men from four to six times each, and one
276 man fifteen times. This last man is generally considered
574 to be the foremost *kava*-drinker in the village, something of
an addict in fact, whose consistent and frequent attendance
521 at *kava*-parties is a matter for village gossip. The gossip
[875] is tempered slightly by the fact that the addict is a schoolteacher
who can support his household to a large degree by
his small monetary income and rely upon the services of his
father to look after the household gardens.

574 Frequency of attendance at parties is shown by the next
table.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

TABLE 13.—FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE OF INDIVIDUALS. 574

Number of Attendances of each person	32	14	13	11	10	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Total	Per cent. village men or women
Men	1	2	1	2	3	3	7	2	3	5	6	10	11	56	81.1
Women	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	2	13	19	32.6

This table again suggests that apart from the village 574
addict, the large majority of men are very moderate in their 276
attendance at parties. Similarly, most women attended only
one party during the time records were taken. This
voluntary attendance of women is of course to be
distinguished from the occasions at which women or girls were
present because they were required to make the *kava*. About
eighty per cent. of the men of the village and some thirty-two
per cent. of all the women of the village attended these *kava*
parties. Of the forty-six parties held during this period,
women made the *kava* thirty-seven times, men nine times.
Of the female *kava*-makers, two girls made *kava* seven times
each, the remaining twelve women and girls making *kava*
either once or twice each. Young men made the *kava* only
when it was impossible to find an available girl: the girls
were busy cooking or working or sleeping, or the men were
too lazy to look for a girl to make the *kava* for them.

The figures given in this section do not claim any literal 571
or final accuracy. It is sufficient if they indicate incidence 574
and trends and suggest the large part that *kava*-drinking 276
plays in village life. They can well form the structural
background for the following discussion of the
interrelations of *kava*-drinking and the social life of the village.

The *kava*-plant is easy to plant, easy to grow, but slow 249
to mature. Few men bother to plant, preferring to buy the (432)
prepared root when needed from the store at a price of six (435)
pence per pound. The men who do plant, perhaps half a
dozen in the village all told, plant once in two or three years,
twenty to fifty cuttings for each planting. March is the best
month and the best location is a wet, shady place. The roots
are ready to dig up in two to three years. They are scraped
clean of bark and dirt, dried in the sun for several days and
then stored among the rafters of the house. For ordinary 276
use, a large root is broken into small pieces. For a special 431
gift-occasion or when honouring some visitor, the whole root 574
with long stalk attached is given. The root is laid on a

The root is laid on a
276 mat before the visitor with the stalk pointing towards the
431 receiver. Should he wish to keep it for later use, he takes the
574 root. Should he wish the root to be used immediately, the
[576] visitor reverses the root with the stalk pointing towards the
kava-bowl. It is then taken up by one of the young men
276 present and broken into small pieces with an axe or stone.
The ordinary household considers ten large roots an ample
supply for a year. An addict will consider thirty to forty
large roots the bare minimum for a year.

276 A boy will start drinking *kava* in public and begin to
574 attend *kava*-parties between the ages of seventeen and
twenty. Parents become angry if a younger boy tries to
883 drink in public or in secret. They will scold and whip him
[861] because they think he is wasting his time and energies. Both
boys and girls sometimes chew pieces of *kava* on the sly.
If discovered, they are whipped by their parents. The
children sometimes do not distinguish between dry and green
276 *kava*. Improperly-dried *kava* (green *kava*) is much more
powerful in its effects than dried *kava* and is likely to produce
headaches and a feeling of vague malaise. Most girls do not
begin to drink *kava* before marriage. Thereafter the
majority show no great liking for the drink.

276 A *kava*-drinking party may be started by any man. He
goes to the house of his choice and asks for one of the women
574 or girls to make *kava*. Soon he will be joined by other men.
Or else two or three men go in a group together. It is usual
for a man to go to a different house on successive nights.
The householder may provide his own piece of *kava* to start
off the drinking. Generally he does not, leaving this to his
guests. The householder is reckoned to be providing
numerous other services: the house, the bowl, the maker,
the lamp, and the kerosene. The first time a man comes to a
276 house to visit, it is bad form for him not to bring a gift of
574 *kava*. A frequent visitor to a house will bring an occasional
576 gift. A visitor from another village uses his own discretion
431 as to whether he brings *kava* with him. If the visitor brings
a gift of *kava*-root and the householder provides none, then
the householder receives the first cup of *kava*. If on the
other hand, the householder also provides *kava*-root, then
both pieces are used for the first bowl and the visitor is the
one to drink first.

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A special case is provided by a young man courting. The young man Avai, for instance, goes to Fakataha's house. If the household is awake he walks inside. If all are asleep, he wakens the group before entering and asking for the girl Ana to make *kava* for him. Other young men drift into the house as soon as a light begins to shine. Avai pounds the *kava* he has brought while Ana makes the drink. Fakataha the mother, acts as chaperon. It is not polite for her to tell the young men to leave. The whole household, therefore, must remain awake and active until the men decide to leave. They may stay as late as they wish, and if they have nothing better to do, they stay until the early hours of the morning. Children crawl into corners and go to sleep. Older people in the household sleep sitting up in the *kava*-circle. In the end, only Ana the maker, her vigilant mother, and the young men may be awake.

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The large wooden *kava*-bowl is a prized household possession. Most of those in the village have come from Fiji. Some are so worn and old that all the legs have been broken. As long as the bowl itself has not split, it is kept in use, propped up if necessary by elaborate piles of stones and pieces of wood. The stones between which the root is pounded (formerly it was chewed) are also special stones, kept for this use only. They are not shaped or modelled in any way. Two hard flat stones are all that is necessary, the base-stone as large and as flat as possible, the pounding-stone of any convenient shape that it may be gripped easily. [426] A household not possessing either bowl or pounders borrows them from a friendly household should it desire to make *kava*. They are returned promptly after use because none wants to have responsibility for an accidental breakage.

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Kava-making in the village follows general Polynesian pattern.[27] The roots are crushed by a young man sitting beside the *kava*-maker. They are then placed in the bowl, water is added (generally from a nearby kerosene-tin), the crushed material saturated and squeezed and then removed from the bowl by the use of a strainer of coconut-fibre. One young man sits on either side of the maker. The boy to the

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[27] Specific procedures used in the making of *kava* for special purposes such as at times of marriage and death, are noted in other appropriate sections of this report.

276 right does the pounding. The boy on the left adds the water as required and later calls out the names of the drinkers that the cups of *kava* may be passed to them in turn.

[516] [784] The *kava*-maker sits quietly behind her bowl when she is not making or filling cups. She keeps her hands folded. She is not supposed to touch her head or face or to talk [841] throughout the evening. A menstruating girl neither makes nor drinks *kava* because of a *tapu* on cold water at this time. [846] A woman who has given birth to a child, similarly does not make *kava* for at least a month after the delivery.

276 574 576 The drinkers sit in a semi-circle facing the *kava*-bowl if the arrangement of the house allows this pattern. Otherwise they sit round three walls of the house, their backs against the walls, with the *kava*-maker at the fourth wall. Generally the young man at the left of the maker calls the name of the drinker. He holds a half coconut-cup over the bowl. The maker lifts the strainer and the *kava* runs into the cup. The drinker named claps his hands together twice and the cup is passed hand to hand until it reaches the drinker. The drinker may indicate that the cup is not full enough for his liking. In this case, the cup is passed back and more *kava* is added. The drinker is supposed to swallow his cupful at one breath. He passes the empty cup back along the circle of hands to be refilled for another or else spins the cup along the floor in such fashion that it comes to rest against the *kava*-bowl. Two coconut-cups are sufficient for any but the largest gathering. The drinkers wait patiently for their names to be called. If the *kava* is finished before all the names of those present are called, those uncalled are without luck. The bowl is placed aside to wait until another bowlful is made. This may be any time up to half an hour later. Meanwhile the flow of discussion is resumed until one of the older men present indicates by a nod or muttered word that it is time to make more *kava*. The wrung-out *kava* from the last bowl is used again unless it is obvious that all the strength has been washed out. Then new *kava*-root is substituted entirely or else added to the old crushed root.

276 574 576 571 There is little attempt to preserve any patterned formality in an ordinary drinking-party. An older man indicates that one of the youth should call the names for the drinking unless he asks one of the adults to do so. Names

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are called in such fashion that the older men present receive their cups first, the younger folk last. Few men in the village can lay claim to the possession of a special *kava*-circle name beside their ordinary name. If they do possess such a name, however, it will always be called in the *kava*-ring, no matter how informal it may be. Three or four rounds of *kava* are generally thought sufficient for most parties. If the men are keyed up for discussion, however, round may follow round endlessly until dawn breaks or all available *kava* is used up. Youths and others not participating in the *kava*-circle crouch or squat round the outside, or else peer into the house from outside through conveniently found holes in the coconut-leaf screens. In small *kava*-parties, where there are only a few present, there is no calling of names. In larger parties cups may be passed back to men outside the circle if there is enough *kava* in the bowl to fill everyone's needs.

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Participation in the *kava*-circle is in general recognized as a man's privilege, his the accepted right to stroll about the village in the evening, to visit, gossip, and drink *kava*. Women may visit during the day. But they are supposed to finish their business quickly, smoke a cigarette perhaps, and then return home immediately. Sometimes a woman of undoubted respectability and status in the village, such as the pastor's wife, may make *kava* for a few of her friends as they discuss church affairs on the broad verandah of her house. Otherwise *kava*-drinking by a woman's *kava*-circle is looked upon slightly askance by the men. It is quite in order for a woman who happens to be part of a *kava*-circle as a chaperon or else because she is wife of the household-head, to accept *kava*. But this, according to the men, should be the limit of female participation.

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For anyone who is sick, *kava* is supposed to be in some way "weakening" and to retard recovery. Thus men who are suffering from stomach-ache or a sore foot or eye, or boil, or more general aches and pains, refrain from drinking. One man never drinks in the month of June because he believes that in some way this is an unlucky month for him. On the other hand, for the normally-healthy person the villager thinks that occasional *kava*-drinking is conducive to better health. This may be associated with the fact that

276 *kava* is a mild diuretic. Villagers have plenty of opportunity
751 to notice this effect of *kava* even if they are unclear as to any
precise cause and effect relationship between this effect and
alleged better health. One reason incidentally, that the
(514) villager gives for the rule that the *kava*-making girl should
not herself drink is that it would be unseemly for her in the
eyes of the men to leave the house frequently to urinate.

276 The topics that are discussed in the ordinary *kava*-circle
574 are endless in their repetitive rehashing. The state of the
521 cultivations, the gossip and scandal of the village, the strange
ways of white people, news and rumour from other villages
far and near, actions of government representatives from
policemen to high officials, chance remarks heard from
passing acquaintances on the island roads, religious doctrine
and dogma, dreams and strange events— all these and many
other topics are considered from every possible angle and
(888) point of view. The older men carry on the discussion while
the younger sit quietly and listen. Sometimes the discussion
will be spirited with many taking part. At other times it
will die down to muttered conversations between one or two
men with others dozing or preoccupied with their own
thoughts or busily rolling banana leaf cigarettes from the
strong and pungent Tongan tobacco. A pause in conversation
comes while a fresh round of *kava* is being made. Then
discussion gathers new strength. And so it goes for hours
on end, sinking and rising according to the spirits of the
participants and the lateness of the hour. Younger men of
the village obtain from these *kava*-discussions the elements
of a liberal education both in the arts and in the crafts of
village life. Sometimes the group will spend part of an
(533) evening singing. The songs may be either church-hymns or
ancient chants.

276 *Kava* is a mild narcotic. Excessive drinking often
733 leads to what can well be termed mild cases of drug-addiction.
Seven men and one woman are considered in the
village to be extremely heavy drinkers whose continual
desire for *kava* is in the nature of an obsession. Other men
drink heavily at odd times, but not continuously. The results
of addiction, according to informants, are personal laziness,
physical weakness and domestic trouble. Night after night
spent drinking *kava* is likely to leave the addict lazy and

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It is hard to give adequate feeling for the manifold interrelations of the *kava*-drinking circle in village life. It is to be realized that the villager has few other outlets for his sociability. Old-style Tongan dancing has practically vanished as a folk-activity. None in the village has adopted the white man's dancing. The church does not sponsor social gatherings except choir-practice meetings where opportunities for sociability are rare. The men's work takes them for the most part to their gardens by day. *Kava*-drinking provides good reason therefore for coming together during the evenings to discuss topics of common interest. In a very real sense a large village *kava*-circle is the Pangai equivalent to the New England town-meeting. It provides an outlet for social impulses and a forum in which matters of common concern may be argued. Because the composition of any *kava*-group changes materially from one night to the next, it is possible for the village to develop a uniformity of opinion and at the same time to avoid any splitting of the village into conflicting or partisan sub-groups. Four churches and four religious dogmas in a small village might [795] be a source of tension when religious belief is still a matter of life and death to the believer. There is no tendency in the village for religious differences to be significant in the formation of *kava*-groups. Hence the *kava*-circle provides a common and neutral ground where men may meet on the basis of social need and for purely social purposes.

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It has been evident throughout this discussion that *kava*-drinking in this commoner-village of Pangai has none of those overtones of elaborate formality and delight in social design for its own sake which are so characteristic of the *kava*-circles among the Tongan noble class and also among the chiefly class of Samoa and other islands of western Polynesia. The villager is of course aware of this formality and etiquette as practised elsewhere in Tonga.[28] He has occasionally watched in all probability, a formal *kava*-party elsewhere when nobles have met or royalty has been greeted.

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[28] The formal *kava*-circle with all its etiquette, rank-symbolism, and customs is well summarised by Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 156-170). This account should be consulted to gain some idea of the many differences between the informal village *kava*-circle and the formal circle composed of those of chiefly and royal rank.

Such formality however, plays no part in this more humble 276
life. He would know how to be respectful did he suddenly 574
find himself by strange fate to be a member of an exalted 565
kava-circle. He would not know in detail, however, the 184
rigid formality that rules the procedure whereby such a 576
party can function. In somewhat similar fashion the
ordinary white man may be dimly aware that strict protocol 000
governs the formal social life of European royalty or of a
President's dinner party. But in his own daily interpersonal
relations, the formalities of the distant great exist only in a
dream-world, not to be imitated and only occasionally to be a
matter of serious discussion.

CRIME

The village seems in general to be law abiding. During 674
our visit one man was arrested and placed in jail for adultery: 684
he was living with a married woman who had run away from
her husband because of mutual incompatibility. The
husband, jealous of his wife's new-found happiness, laid a
complaint against the adulterer. The latter evaded the 674
police for some time by spending most of his days in the 625
bush; but the police finally arrested him one Sunday evening 684
when he was resting in his sleep-house after coming back
to the village to attend church service. There was some
tendency to criticise the police for what was considered a
rather unsporting play on their part. Police would not
bother to arrest an adulterer unless a complaint was filed
against such a person, even though the offence was well-known.
The authorities seem to go on the principle of what
is not complained about is not their concern.

Those who fall behind in annual poll-tax payments are 674
arrested and jailed in Neiafu. 687

The villagers have great horror of stealing, though 674
stealing itself is apparently rare. We were frequently 685
warned against leaving our belongings unguarded in the
village. We left them unguarded constantly and nothing
happened to them. From many people we heard the sad story 674
of one girl who is alleged at some time or other to have 685
stolen a lead pencil. The girl is a marked character in the 558
village. When we engaged her as a housegirl without (114)
knowing this terrible past history, many shook their heads

for the villagers to find the money to repay this debt. 794
Another basis for the inference, again according to local
pastors, is that Pangai always lags far behind the other
villages of comparable size in Vava'u when special collections
are made for church purposes. It is difficult for the
outsider to evaluate such judgments. Our own observations
suggest that there is in Pangai a warmth of religious feeling (771)
and spiritual fervor that would be considered highly
abnormal in countries with a longer Christian tradition
behind them. On the other hand there is in Pangai a 794
noticeable lack of what may be called civic and religious 186
pride when this village is compared with some of the other
villages in Vava'u, particularly other villages where the noble
estate-owner is in residence and acts as a sort of dynamo
in village life. The village overseer of Pangai, as has been (644)
noted before, is a good, plain, honest fellow, a Pangai man
among his friends. None could possibly accuse him of having
the energy of vaulting ambition, or the efficiency of a village-manager.
From this viewpoint, therefore, Pangai is
probably slack where civic pride is concerned, slack also
when it comes to the matter of showing interest in one's
church by contributions other than, or additional to, the
ordinary quarterly dues.

SUNDAY SCHOOL

An attempt is made by church pastors to give the young 794
training in religious matters through the institution of a Sunday school which meets once each week before the regular mid-morning church service. The instruction, given by the pastor, consists in the usual Bible readings and the learning of Bible texts. At the end of the year prizes are given to the best pupils. The names of these pupils are announced during church service, and their parents derive great satisfaction and pride from the awards. To show the form this satisfaction may take, the following notes from our field-diary are added:

> When two of Koloamatangi's grandchildren (Koloa is 794
> the village overseer) received church prizes, he took the 574
> opportunity to give one of the biggest feasts in village (603)
> memory. He slaughtered a bull to provide the principal
> relish and added to this large amounts of octopus, fish, and

794 pork, and the usual vegetable staples. The guests sat for an
574 hour before all this food while the local pastor led the group
in prayer, hymn-singing and Bible reading. Then the word was given to eat. The church bell tolling the hour of mid-
[578] week service came all too soon after this. Some guests were heard to criticize the holding of church services at the usual hour on this day insofar as they felt that they had not been given reasonable time to eat as much of the food displayed
[431] as they desired. Many of the guests were given large baskets of food to take with them when they left. This they brought out to eat in their own houses when church was finished.
794 While appreciating Koloa's generosity in giving such a large
574 feast, some of the villagers thought that the display was
578 rather ostentatious if it was for the mere purpose of
554 honouring Sunday-school prize-winners. But Koloa was
[603] greatly attached to his two grandchildren, and he had decided that if he was to give a feast, then only the biggest feast was good enough for them. He did not overlook the fact that only a man very wealthy in Tongan foods could give such a feast. In this way, therefore, Sunday-school prizes became the excuse to express both his affection for his children and his status in the village community.

THE LAY-PREACHER

794 With the exception of the village pastors, none are more
793 important in the village in the functioning of the Protestant
554 churches than the lay-preachers. They occupy a middle
stage in the religious hierarchy between pastor at the top and church congregation at the bottom. They are those specially devout religious men who for one reason or another have been unable to qualify for the full period of training that is necessary before being ordained as a pastor but who have had sufficient religious fervour to study for and pass the examinations that are the prerequisite for certification as a lay-preacher by the Church Conference. The duties of the lay-preacher in Pangai—there are about five of them in the Free Wesleyan Church—are to relieve the church pastor for one or more of the seven church-services and prayer-meetings each week in Pangai and to help the pastor by giving further relief in the administration of the Pangai "circuit" which includes two other villages besides Pangai.

moment of oratory itself. Should the assignment have been 000
to conduct service in a village other than Pangai, then the 794
conclusion to all this labour of love is a feast given 574
immediately after the service by one of the chief supporters 554
of this church. The lay-preacher is the guest of honour.
His is the first *kava* cup called, he is chosen to say the Grace.
Then, after the eating of much good food, the lay-preacher
begins his long walk back to Pangai accompanied by the
thanks of his hosts for the sermon and a material symbol
of these thanks in the form of a large root of *kava* or a good-sized
basket of pork and other oven-baked foods.

The rewards and responsibilities of being a lay-preacher 794
are such as to appeal only to a few of the more sober and 554
older village men. Biukala, after passing a three-day written
and oral examination, found himself during our stay in the
village the proud possessor of his preacher's certificate. He
is a very serious and sober, hard-working Tongan, but he [123]
beamed under our congratulations and was very obviously
pleased with all the new possibilities of service and increased
village prestige that now opened before his wide-glancing
eyes. Only one major worry now filled his mind. He had 794
neither dark suit nor black shoes properly to costume himself 554
in answer to a preaching call. He was not particular, of 292
course, about the fit of either suit or shoes. As long as his 177
feet could be squeezed into shoes, no matter what the agony,
for a two-hour service, as long as he could make pretense of
slipping into the suit, no matter whether the coat could be
buttoned or the trousers reached to his shins only, he would
be attired in clothing favoured by white missionaries. For
Biukala, such clothes, though hot to wear, a hindrance to
free movement and hard to get, definitely represented a
symbol both of his newly-gained village-status and of a
wishful longing to identify himself with the white man's
way of life. Later on, we were grateful to be able to help
Biukala grasp firmly this symbol of his desiring.

CONCLUSION 177

The culture of the village as it functions today is a 178
well-integrated blend of the old and the new. How much of
it is aboriginal Tongan culture and how much of it is derived
from western European culture is hard to say with any

here and there between them. A few cable-lengths to 000
the northward of our anchorage was the spot where the 175 177
privateer Port-au-Prince was treacherously taken by Finau
Ulukalala, and on the beach opposite to us the master and
crew were murdered. The two rusty iron guns among [501]
the ballast in the hold of our schooner are part of her
armament. To this event we are indebted for a book of 114
travels that closely approaches 'Robinson Crusoe' in style 175
and surpasses it in interest. Mariner, one of the survivors,
spent scarcely four years among the people, yet his
account of the Tongans, elicited by questions put to him
by Dr Martin, leaves little to be added by later travellers.
The book so produced has become a classic: one does not
know which most to admire, Mariner's observation and
wonderful memory, or Martin's ingenuity, industry, and
pure style.[1]

As our visit to the king was to be one of state, we 643
had brought with us an old *matabule*, or master of ceremonies, 644
who landed with a root of kava to announce our 276
arrival. We followed him immediately afterwards along 574
the beach to the great native house occupied by the king.
Before we reached it we saw the old man coming down
from the unfinished church, followed by a train of his
matabules. We halted until a mat was spread under the
shade of some large trees, and his attendants formed a
kava-ring, a large oval, with the bowl facing the king.
Fatafehi then led me round outside the oval of sitting 643
men, and we took our seats on the king's left, with our 644
matabule between us and him. On my left was a white-haired 276 574
man with very bright eyes, who afterwards proved 576

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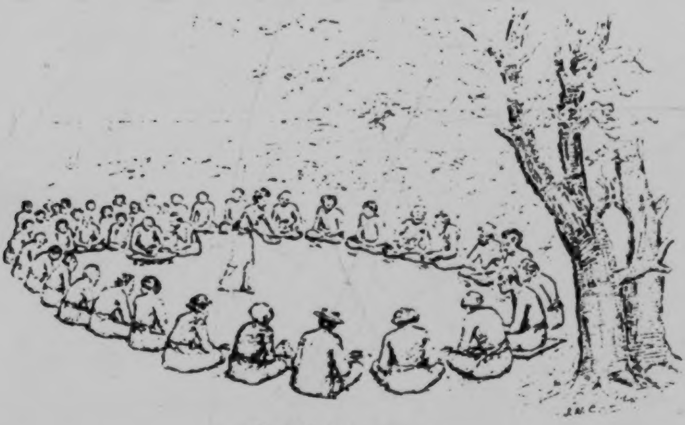
[1] Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands.

643 to be Kaho the chief jailer, and therefore the most im-
644 portant authority after the Governor. The king sat quite
276 silent and impassive except for a nervous side glance of
● 574 the eyes, which would have given him a suspicious look
576 if it had not been evidently involuntary. Tukuaho had
[554] slunk off to the place of dishonour behind the bowl, where
some of the attendants were pounding the root on a flat
[554] stone that rang out melodiously. This was because his



The king's kava-ring.

father is still living, and no man in Tonga has any titular
rank or status until his father be dead. At the king's
[521] kava the circle is sacred to chiefs and the *matabules*. For
fully five minutes, while the kava was being pounded, not a word was spoken. The thirty or forty men who composed the ring stared straight at the grass, oppressed by a sense of decorum as rigid as the etiquette at St James'. Suddenly, without a word of warning, our *matabule* shouted at the top of his voice to the *matabule* on the king's right,

"*Oku lelei a Tonga*" (All is well at Tonga), and the other 643
shouted back, "*Koe!*" (Indeed). Then our voice yelled, 644
"We left Tonga yesterday with a fair wind, and arrived 276
to-day." The other barked his monosyllable, "*Koe!*" 574
After this conversation languished. I looked at the king 576
to see how he would take their flagrant breach of manners, expecting that these unmannerly vassals who talked across him at the top of their voices would receive some reproof; but he made no sign, and I was left to conclude that this mode of conversation was adopted in deference to the king's growing deafness.

The pounded root, which had fallen from the stone 643
upon a small mat, had been from time to time shot into 644
the bowl, which was now handed to a man who sat directly 276
opposite to the king with a crowd of commoners behind 574
him. He tilted it up to show the contents, and cried, "*Koe kava eni kuo tuki*" (This kava is pounded). The *matabule* on the king's right shouted, "*Palu*" (Mix), and two men came forward and sat one on each side of the bowl facing one another—the one with a fan to keep off the flies, and the other with some water-gourds. The man who presided at the bowl now rinsed his hands by pouring water over them from one of the gourds, and then squeezed the pounded root into a pyramid in the bottom of the bowl. The *matabule* now cried, "*Lingi ae vai*" (Pour in the water), and the contents of the gourds were slowly poured in, while the kava-maker kneaded the mass with both hands. Then the *matabule* cried, "*Tuku ae vai*" (Stop pouring), and the man dropped his gourds, and took up a banana-leaf to help his fellow in keeping off the flies. The *matabule* now cried, "*Ai ae fau*" (Put in the

643 strainer), and a tassel of the fibres of the yellow hibiscus,
644 in shape and size looking not unlike a deck-swab, was laid
276 floating upon the surface of the kava. The kava-maker
574 now pushed the edges of this strainer carefully down to
the bottom of the bowl, drawing it gently towards him,
and bringing it up to the rim of the bowl till it overlapped
the part that still floated, thus enclosing the fibres of the
root in a sort of net. Then drawing the whole to the
broad rim of the bowl, he folded it double, and wrung it
out till the muddy fluid had slopped back into the bowl,
and the strong fibres of the strainer cracked. He now
handed it to his companion on the left, who shook it out
and combed out the fibres with his fingers before giving it
back. This process was repeated until all the fibres of the
[565] kava suspended in the fluid had been removed. These
waste fibres, called *efi*, were afterwards pounded again in
one of the neighbouring houses by some of the commoners.

[521] During this operation the most perfect silence was kept.
643 Three men now came into the circle carrying baskets of
644 boiled plantains, which they emptied in a heap on banana-
276 574 leaves, and, by the direction of the *matabule*, distributed
264 amongst us—two plantains each. Before eating mine I
waited to see what the others would do, but no one touched
them, and before the end of the ceremony they were swept
up and taken away in baskets. In Mariner's time, eighty-seven years ago, they would have been eaten: now the
custom has become an empty form, and survived like the
buttons on the back of the modern dress-coat.

643 The straining of the kava being now completed, the
644 man at the bowl cried, "*Kuo ma ae kava ni*" (This kava is
276 574 576 clear), and the *matabule* answered, "*Fakatau*" (Pour out).

Three or four men rose from behind the bowl and squatted 643
within the circle, each holding a polished cocoa-nut shell. 644 276
The kava-maker filled each in turn, using the strainer as 574
a sponge, and, as each shell was filled, the man holding 576
the fan cried in a peculiar long-drawn wail, "*Kava kuo heka*" (The kava is lifted), and the *matabule* replied, "*Angi maa* ——," naming the title of each recipient. As each was named he clapped his hands to show the cupbearer where he was sitting. Two of the king's *matabules* drank first, then the king, then Fatafehi, then another *matabule*; then there was a pause, for the presiding *matabule* had to ascertain my name, which, being imperfectly caught, was reproduced as "*Angi maa Tobisoni.*" After several others had drunk, the *matabule* cried, "*Mai ma'aku*" (Bring it to me), and received his own share. The distribution followed certain strict laws of precedence, which it is the *matabule's* trade to know. The first cup is given to the principal *matabule*, the second to the chief next in rank to the presiding chief, the third to the chief himself. Had Fatafehi been a visitor instead of Governor of the island, he would have received the first cup, but being regarded as a chief of the place, to whom no special compliment was necessary, he received it immediately before the king, a sure indication that he was next in rank to him. In kava-parties of less ceremony, when the kava is brewed more than once, the order is changed. At the second brew the president drinks first, and the person next to him in rank third, the *matabule* intervening.

The Tongans give a rather crude piece of folk-lore to 276
account for this custom, the opposite of that observed in 576 773
Fiji, where the chief always drinks first. They say that

276 there was a time, many years ago, when their fathers
576 believed that the kava, growing everywhere wild in the
773 forest, was a deadly poison. But one day a man going to his plantation saw a rat gnawing a kava-root. He waited expecting to see it die, but it ate on greedily, and at last ran off uninjured. Much excited by what he had seen, he hastened to tell the Tui Tonga, taking the gnawed root with him to bear out his statement. The chief listened to him and said, "If the rat gnawed the kava and lived, then surely is the plant not poisonous: perhaps it is even a useful medicine; let us try it." So they took shell-knives, and scraped the root, and kneaded it with water, and presented it to the Tui Tonga in a cup. But he, looking at it, said, "Perhaps this fellow lied, and the kava is poison after all: let another drink first, that we may know." And he gave the cup to the *matabule* on his left hand, bidding him drink, and the chief sat gazing at him to see if he would die; and after a while he called for another cup, and gave it to the *matabule* on his right hand, saying, "Drink, for perhaps your fellow has a stronger stomach than I, and that which harms him not may kill me." And when both had drunk and were unharmed the Tui Tonga drank the cup, and found it pleasant to the taste, and bade them gather the kava from the forest, and let him drink of it daily. Thus it became the usage of the chief to drink the third cup, after the fashion of that Tui Tonga who made a trial of it on the bodies of his *matabules*.

643 When the bowl was empty I whispered to Fatafehi that
644 he should announce me as the bearer of a letter to the
276 king from the High Commissioner. He passed the mes-
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sage on to our *matabule*, who shouted a mangled version 643
of it across the king to the fellow sitting on his Majesty's 644
right hand. This functionary as usual shouted "*Koe!*" 276 574
to the sea-birds circling over the reef. My letter was 576
then passed to the king, who laid it down without looking
at it.

Meanwhile the second brew was being prepared, and [521]
although the formalities were sufficiently relaxed to permit
conversation, still the king stared straight before him,
speaking to no one, and seeming not to hear the conversation
which was carried on at speaking-trumpet pitch
out of compliment to his deafness. As soon as the cup [782]
had gone round again he rose without any warning, [304]
passed behind Fatafehi, and stooping over me, extended
three fingers of his right hand in welcome, not from any
motive of *hauteur*, but because the fourth finger had been
sacrificed in his old heathen days to the *manes* of a
deceased relative. Then without a word he walked off,
carrying rather than leaning on his staff for all his ninety
years, and disappeared into the long native house where
he was staying. The kava-party at once broke up and
went their several ways; and Tukuaho emerged from his
humble seat behind the bowl, and led us to a large but
ruinous house that had once been the king's palace. This 645
was to be our quarters during our visit. Fatafehi left us
here to go to Government House and attend to his
executive duties. A glance at that building—we could [344]
see it from our verandah—convinced me that whoever
may have squandered the public funds, the Governor of
Haapai was as guiltless as the Minister of Finance, whose
house I had seen in Nukualofa.

342 time to examine the three great rooms that formed our
quarters. There was a depressing air of decayed grandeur
about the worm-eaten furniture and weather-stained floor.
[353] A large room at the end became our pantry, and through
the reed screen that divided it from the rest of the house
came the incessant chatter of a Princess and two ladies
from the jail who had been told off to attend to our
517 wants. When not engaged in the menial service of wash-
521 ing dishes, they were drinking kava and retailing the
276 local scandal in an atmosphere reeking with the fumes of
565 *sulukas*. Lest I should seem to boast of my single experi-
592 ence of eating from the hand of a Princess of the Blood
576 574 Royal, I hasten to add that Charlotte, the lady in ques-
tion, was a member of Fatafehi's household, and since
we were his guests, it was in accordance with native
etiquette that she should take charge of the culinary
[262] department. She discharged her task admirably, and
rang the changes on fried chicken, fried sucking-pig, with
baked cocoa-nuts and raw fish[1] for dessert, in the most
practised manner.

645 After luncheon Tukuaho became gloomy. Not a soul
574 had come to greet him, and he was not accustomed to
578 unpopularity. During his last visit, he said, his arm had
been tired with shaking hands, and his digestion upset
with the quantity of kava he had been obliged to drink
with his admirers; but now he saw all his old friends
645 578 pass the door without looking in. Fat Peter's appearance

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[1] Raw fish is described by Mariner as a delicacy, and it was provided at my special request. It is cut up into lozenge-shaped pieces, and washed in salt water. When I had overcome the natural repugnance of the idea, I found it rather good. There is no valid reason why raw fish should be nastier than raw oysters, which it much resembles in taste.

V.

HOW I BECAME A PRIVY COUNCILLOR.

I WOKE early with the feeling that a crisis had to be gone 000
through during the day, and that we should need all our
energies. I fondly hoped that a spark of enthusiasm would
have been awakened in the breast of my colleague, and
that he would be as eager as I to have a common plan of
action laid down before our visit to the king, on which so
much depended. But to my intense disgust the kava- 276
bowl, surrounded by its ministering spirits, was in course 574
of preparation, and a precious hour was wasted. I lived
to know that to expect a Tongan chief to forego native
ceremonial in the exigencies of public business is to court
disappointment. We had time for a hurried meal when [264]
Fatafehi, clad in decent black, came to escort me to the
royal presence. He thought it better that I should see 645
the king alone before the Council, and present the precious 643
log of sandal-wood that I had brought as a present from [431]
the High Commissioner. He would stay, he said, during
the interview and interpret for me. Eight men were produced, who lifted the tree on their shoulders, and preceded
us to the native house that did duty for a palace, and,

796 standing, weeping aloud. The dreadful day had come,
781 and one after another the men of the place slunk out to
783 spread the dire news among their comrades in distress.
Plaudits and tears were alike suppressed: this was too serious a matter for ordinary demonstrations. A terrible and damning history fell from the lips of this penitent Phryne of the South Seas. When she had finished there was scarcely a man in the church, but the women sat and drank it all in, and many a household in Sawana dates its domestic troubles from that terrible *bolotu* when Mary "told her soul."

645 We began next day to reap the fruit of the seed
574 scattered at the *bolotu* overnight. We were haunted by
578 visitors. Our political opponents came in, each carrying
[431] in his hand the inevitable root of kava—for a Tongan
[276] making a visit of any ceremony would as soon forget his
kava as an English lady her card-case under similar cir-
[203] cumstances. They sat rubbing shoulders with the spies
from whom we knew exactly how much their new-born
[152] friendship was worth. There was, moreover, a nervous
hilarity about them that showed their sense of the awkwardness of their sudden change of front.

634 At mid-day we summoned a meeting of the Govern-
624 ment officials in the wooden court-house. There were the
[625] judge, the police magistrate, and the pound-keeper, all
malcontents; a dozen policemen and jail-warders, believed to be the same; the Treasury clerk, said to be loyal; and greater than all—the head jailer, Kaho, a
[551] dark horse whom it was important to win over. He
proved to be the white-haired, bright-eyed *matabule*, who had been my neighbour in the king's *faikava*, where he sat

643 father, did not read well. The Speech consisted of the
646 usual Ministerial platitudes, congratulations upon "our
cordial relations with the other Powers," and promises for
the future. The allusion to the past was very brief. He,
the king, gave thanks to God that these clouds were happily
dispersed, and left it to the Legislature to provide for
the future by revising all the laws and regulating finance.
[177] Convinced that their efforts in pursuit of civilisation
[829] would not be crowned with complete success until they
[875] mastered another language besides their own, and that
[759] national prosperity could not be assured unless the population
ceased to decrease, he had provided them with a
schoolmaster for their minds and a doctor for their bodies.
In conclusion, he commended them to God, and trusted
that there would be no more dissension between the
Churches—the expectation which, in the present temper
of the missionaries, is, of all those contained in the Royal
Speech, the least likely to be realised. The king interrupted
the Speech twice, telling the reader impatiently
to speak up.

It had been intended to unveil a picture of the king,
but almost before Taufaahau had articulated the closing
words, his Majesty rose and strode out as he had come,
with the air of a man who has loyally discharged an irksome
[533] duty. The band dash recklessly into the triumphal
march from Tannhäuser, struggle awhile, and arrive breathless
at the end within a bar or two of one another.

646 The senators streamed away to their quarters at Pangai
574 to disrobe; the guests strolled home to doff their finery.
The morning had been devoted to propriety; pleasure was
now to have its turn. In half an hour not a black coat

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

was to be seen. Sacrifice had been made on the altar of 646
the god Civilisation: Parliament was now to be opened 574
after the custom of their despised ancestors. Groups formed wherever a tree-top cast a patch of shade. Strings of men, swinging their limbs with the glorious freedom of

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Portrait of King George Tubou.

trouserless man, filed up and flung their burdens of pig and yam upon an ever-increasing heap, while a claque of aged men shouted approval. Roast-pig scents the hot air. A grave and melancholy *matabule* is counting pigs in a monotonous chant, and each successive decimal evokes

646 loud applause. In ten minutes the members of both
574 Houses will be pig-smeared to the elbows. Let them be
happy in their own way to-day, for the morrow will bring
debates, shoes, and the knife and fork.

646 At ten o'clock next morning H.M.S. Cordelia steamed
through the hazy reef as the great wooden drum announced
that the business of the country was to begin. The House
had been cleared for action. On the daïs the throne had
been replaced by the Speaker's chair; and a long table, at
which sat four clerks of the Parliament, filled the place of
the visitors' benches. Two sentries of the Guards and four
policemen drawn up at the door saluted as we went in.
The members of both Houses were in their places—Nobles
[645] on the right and Commons on the left of the chair. The
[634] Cabinet had a bench to themselves among the Nobles, and
below them sat the governors of districts—sixty-eight
members in all, counting myself. So long as I continued
to hold the portfolio of *Fakahinohino* I had a seat *ex officio*
as a member of the Upper House.

For twelve minutes not a word is spoken. We are
[164] waiting for the Speaker. When the delay has become
unbearable a messenger is sent to him; for though Tungi
had been in sight when we came in, he suffers so much
from asthma that he has to rest to recover breath at every
few yards of the road. Some moments later there is a
movement behind the daïs-screen. Claud, Sergeant-at-Arms, clatters in and cries, "*Koe Sea!*" (The Chair!) We
all rise. Tungi climbs the daïs panting, but with the deliberate air of a man who knows his business; for he held
his office through two at least of Mr Baker's Parliaments,
and is not in the least collar-shy like the rest of us. He

787 the inspired priest have been more than once described. Very few
793 contemporary Tongans have witnessed the performance, but I have
been fortunate enough to hear from a very intelligent elderly chief a
[154] graphic description of the inspiration of a priest which he witnessed
in his boyhood. This was in one of the last retreats of the old
[115] worship, and the wild awe of the scene, enhanced by the darkness
of night, and a double row of lights at the end of which the priest
sat, looking down a lane flanked on either hand by fire, has left an
indelible impression on the old gentleman's mind. Amongst other
787 things he noted the voracious appetite of the priest, who was a Fijian
793 of ordinary stature, but who, under the influence of the divine frenzy
154 devoured a great bunch of bananas or plantains. The native theory
[609] is that the inspiring god in some way eats the food. Another
extraordinary circumstance was the manner of his speech. Usually
[191] this Fijian spoke bad Tongan in a small weak voice, but during his
inspiration his voice was rich and full, and his utterances couched in
eloquent and faultless Tongan, "like a Belehake," as the native
idiom has it.

The appetite of the priest, to which the natives nowadays sometimes
782 make caustic reference, seems to have been a fairly constant
factor or inspiration, but presents of food, an indispensable accompaniment
of a ceremonious visit to a chief, would naturally be taken
by worshippers waiting on their god. *Kava*, always presented to a
782 chief on a ceremonial occasion, was also taken to the gods. The
276 initial rite of worship was a *kava* drinking. A ceremonial *kava* drinking
is a presentation to some person, usually the greatest chief in the
276 gathering. If a number of people pay a visit to a chief they take
574 *kava* to him, some of which will be prepared and drunk then and
565 there, though all may not share in it. The visiting party and the
chief to whom the visit is made, with his retainers, will drink together,
precedence in drinking being strictly observed in accordance with
rank, although the order is not a merely numerical one; for example,
the third bowl is very commonly the most chiefly of all, and even
further down, the fifth or seventh, etc., may take precedence of those
earlier in the list. The due ordering of these matters is one of the
things in which the chiefs' *matabules*, or gentlemen attendants, are
expected to possess expert knowledge. Another prized qualification
of a *matabule* is a full clear voice with which to call, in a kind of loud
intonation, the person to whom the bowl is to be taken, the number
of baskets of food presented, to whom the several portions are to be
taken when the distribution is made, and the like matters. The chief
to whom the *kava* drinking is a presentation is marked by his having
the most chiefly bowl, commonly, though not always, the third, taken
to him to drink, and a slight change in the words with which the
782 *matabule* calls that bowl. In the case of the *kava* drinking with which
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II.—INDIVIDUAL GODS.

776 **Bulotu Katoa.** Bulotu was the Tongan Paradise. As already
related its chief deity was Hikuleo, but it was the home also of spirits
[772] of the departed, evidently only of chiefs and great people, to whom
[775] perhaps some sort of worship was paid. Sometimes one hears of a
being called Tui Bulotu, i.e., King of Bulotu, but of him I have been
[114] able to learn nothing. Mariner calls him a minor god of the sea and
of voyages, and protector of Finau's family. Tuivakano, the Premier
of Tonga, suggests that some of the gods mentioned by Mariner are
[775] really the illustrious dead. In spite of the name Tui Bulotu there
does not seem any reason to disturb the sovereignty of Hikuleo in
Bulotu, home of wondrous plenty, of the life-giving water, Vai-Ola,
Water of Life, into which the spirits of the dead seem to have been
dipped to restore them to life and the power of enjoying the delights
of their paradise, and of other marvels.

Bulotu Katoa, i.e., the whole of Bulotu, was the grandiloquent
name of a great deity whose principal shrine was at Boha, in the
[361] eastern part of Tongatabu. This eastern district, though not now the
seat of the capital, is the chiefly centre of the ancient polity, the
residence of the Tui Tonga, the Tui Haatakalaua, and other great
776 lords. To Bulotu Katoa the whole of Tonga resorted, the Tui Tonga
alone staying at home. I have heard him spoken of as the god of the
643 great warrior chiefs, the Tui Kanokupolu, who in process of time and
[782] change supervening on the coming of the European have displaced
the Tui Tonga, but the real position seems rather to have been that
whoever for the time being was most powerful, whether the Tui
Kanokupolu or another chief, took the lead in national supplication to
this great god, to avert the calamities of hurricane, drought, and
776 famine. As a matter of fact Kuku, a very ancient and blue-blooded
chief, was most intimately associated with the worship of Bulotu
[565] Katoa, and two related chiefs, Tamale (the present holder of this title
[115] has given me the best information about this and many other matters;
his repute as a depository of ancient lore is probably more widely
recognised than that of any living Tongan), and Ma'olo distributed
[793] the offerings brought to the god. The name of the priest was
Takahi. When *kava* was presented to Bulotu Katoa the Tui
[276] Kanokupolu sat with the ring of outsiders at a distance from the *kava*
[574] bowl and the leaders of the ceremony.

[643] The dog was the sacred animal of this god, and during his worship
[782] a dog lay at the side of the priest. It was customary to use the word
kuli (dog) in names of Nuku's family. There is a proverbial ex-
776 pression pretty closely parallel to our English "Let sleeping dogs lie,"
which is said to have had its first application to the dog of Bulotu
825 Katoa.
[192]

foes, and it is said of priests that it is better that they themselves 776
should die than that one who has taken refuge with them should
perish. Niukapu in gratitude to his deliverer told Kautae to take his 778
pick of a piece of land, but the priest instead asked Niukapu for his 793
kava, which means that in *kava* ceremonies Kautae has the right to
demand that the cup intended for Niukapu should be brought to him. 776
This practice is not very uncommon. There is an old gentleman in the 778
island of Haano, in Haapai, who, although not a chief himself, has the 793
right to demand the *kava* of a considerable number of chiefs on the 276
ground of their descent from his family.

Taufa is both a sea and a land god. In the sea he is manifested 574
as the shark, and is called Taufa-tahi, i.e., Taufa of the Sea. On 776
land he bore the name Taufa-uta, i.e., Taufa of the Land, but had no
separate sacred animal. In fact, Taufa-tahi and Taufa-uta cannot be 825
considered as two distinct manifestations of the god. Taufa was the [778]
god, his totem was the shark, and he had his shrines ashore in which [793]
he spoke through his priest. The name most commonly applied to [187]
him is Taufa-tahi. Taufa's shark seems to have been a mythical sea
monster. Near Mua, the chief village in eastern Tongatabu, is a
place in the sea, where it is asserted that on calm days white mounds,
like the mounds heaped up over the graves of the dead, can be seen
beneath the water. This spot is called Taufa's cemetery, and here the
god, in the form of an exceedingly white shark, might be sometimes
seen.

Taufa was a notable protector of gardens. To secure the services 776
of the god the husbandman had simply to plait a coconut-leaf in the 241
semblance of a shark, and hang it up in his plantation. This placed
the garden under a *tabu* that none would dare to violate. It is said 776
that after the introduction of Christianity a man had the hardihood to 241
thrust his hand in mockery into one of these *tabu* signs; but the 784
moribund deity was not to be insulted with impunity, and soon afterwards
the sacrilegious violator, whilst bathing in the sea, had both
his arms bitten off by a shark. It is interesting to notice that the 776
priestly succession has been maintained to the present day, and a 793
Kautae is still regularly appointed.

Talisi Tubou is the god of the Tui Kanokupolu, whose title is now 776
assumed by the constitutional ruler of Tonga. Even before the advent of
Christianity real power was gradually passing out of the hands of the 643
Tui Tonga into those of more active lords, notably the Tui Kanokupolu,
who was in any case a very high chief. Tubou, the royal title of the [554]
Tui Kanokupolu appears in the name of the god. Kanokupolu is
itself a small village in the west of Tongatabu, but the Tui Kanokupolu 103
chieftainship has long been a much more important thing than king of 361
this little village would seem to imply, but the real moment of the
name Kanokupolu itself must doubtless be sought elsewhere. Kupolu

to go near, in order to stare, or to walk about. 643
To prevent such conduct, a Fijian, dressed, and blackened, according to the custom of his country, walked to and fro as the guard of the ceremony, armed with club and spear. The day was very fine, and the gathering of the noted politicians and warriors of the land, under the magnificent trees, which have stood for ages on the sward of Bagai, presented a most interesting sight.

The ceremony consisted simply in publicly call- 643
ing out the future official title of the king, in a 276
kava-meeting; that is to say, a meeting where a 574
preparation of kava-root is diluted and drunk by the persons assembled, according to certain well-established rules of etiquette and precedence.

Two chiefs sat, one on either side of the king
elect. These were two of the *matuas*, or "fathers" [565]
of the land. Their office was to relieve the king, and to act on his behalf. The names of the officiating chiefs were Motua-buaka and Lauaki. The others ranged themselves on either side, in order of rank, and forming a large circle, outside of which, and in front of the king, the bulk of the commoners were seated. The kava being prepared, several chiefs addressed the assembly, before it was served
out. Afterwards Motua-buaka delivered an ora- [537)
tion explaining the important object of their assembling. The king then addressed them also. Immediately he had finished, his kava was poured into a dish; and then Motua-buaka proclaimed aloud that that was the kava of Taliai-Tubou Tuikanokubolu.

When all was over, the king, and most of the 643
company, adjourned to the house of God, where portions of Scripture, suitable to the august occasion,

crowd of people, some in canoes, and still more swimming 226
and wading in the water, making merry over
the captives, and spearing any of the larger fish
that seemed likely to escape, or were behaving with
unbecoming rudeness to any of their weaker companions
in tribulation. Amid much shouting, and
many pleasant jokes, the whole of the motley
fraternity were safely secured; and, being easily
obtained when the tide had ebbed away, they were
speedily distributed among the several owners of
the nets and canoes.

The true sperm whale, and other species of the 136
cetaceous mammals, are often observed in the neighbourhood
of the islands. Dolphins and porpoises [225]
abound; but they are not sought after by the people.
Sharks, however, are numerous, and these are caught 226
in considerable numbers by hooks, or, more commonly
still, by a simple bait, and a running noose.
In all great feasts, the presence of as many sharks 262
as can be obtained, is considered to be an indispensable 252
requisite. They are always cooked entire, [574]
whatever may be their size; and they are enclosed [285]
in a long basket made from the cocoa-nut leaf. [824]
The flesh of a young shark, when about four feet
long, is exceedingly good eating. One of the 226
largest of these monsters we ever saw, was caught 136
from the deck of the Mission ship "John Wesley,"
when at anchor in Vavau harbour. It measured
nearly eighteen feet in length; and, when opened,
was found to contain sixteen young sharks, just
about to be spawned. It was what is called a
ground shark, having double rows of upper and
lower teeth, each separate tooth being as sharp as
a lancet.

Turtle do not abound so plentifully in the Friendly 225 136

quarter in the thickest part. On only two occasions 136
have we seen it swimming at sea. When
first observed, it was carrying the head quite erect,
about four inches above the surface; but, instantly
it saw our boat, it drew its head under water, and
disappeared. The natives seem to have a great
reverence for, or else a great aversion to, the
creature, notwithstanding its prettiness. But this [778]
may arise, in part, from its having been held sacred, [825]
and being even worshipped in former days.

It would be hard to determine what were the 136
indigenous animals of the Tonga Islands. We have 231
heard an intelligent native playfully say, that, in
olden times, the only representatives of the animal
and feathered tribes, were the *kuma*, or field-mouse,
and the *jikota*, a species of kingfisher.
Captain Cook found hogs, and dogs, and probably,
cats, upon the islands; but it is just possible that
these were first left by the Dutch navigator Tasman,
nearly a century before. Of his visit, the
people have no traditionary knowledge whatsoever.
Whether the Tonguese obtained animals from him 231
or not, there is no doubt that the breed of hogs now
extant is much superior to that which the people
possessed in bygone days. Considerable attention
is paid to rearing them. Many, it is true, are
allowed to run wild in the bush; but a very large
number are reared in pig-styes, or are regularly
tended and fed by their owners.

The number of pigs consumed at the great 261
native feasts, of various kinds, is something enormous. 262
Hundreds, and even thousands, have been 574
known to be slaughtered and cooked entire, on 231
these occasions, with a wasteful extravagance,
against which the Missionaries have hitherto lifted

261 up their protest in vain. By the custom of the
262 country, in this matter, the bulk of the people have
574 been kept poor, through an indisposition on their
231 part to breed and rear animals that might, at any moment, be demanded from them by the chiefs, as a contribution to a domestic, political, or even religious festival.

136 Horses and cattle were re-introduced by the
231 Missionaries, a few years since, and have thriven
[797] well. They were first left by Captain Cook, but became extinct during the long series of wars which succeeded the period of his visit. Sheep also have been added, in late years, to the stock of fine goats that had been introduced at an earlier date. The number, however, of these various animals never can become anything very great. The islands are too small to permit of extensive districts being devoted to sheep-runs or pasturage for cattle. Sufficient, however, may be raised for all the purposes of home consumption, and for the replenishing of ships' stores, even should the population become much more numerous than it now is.

The common domestic fowl, the *moa* of Polynesia, is exceedingly abundant, both in the *abis* of the people, and in all parts of the bush. They are somewhat smaller than the English species, but are quite equal in flavour. The *bato,* or Muscovy duck, is also becoming plentiful; while the possession of fine large broods of turkeys is not now restricted to the limits of the Mission families, by whom they were introduced. Geese and English ducks have been tried; but they do not appear to thrive. Perhaps this is owing to the want of sufficient water-ponds.

136 There is no great variety in the other members

one body. No particle of clay or earthy mould is 764
allowed to touch the remains of the dead. The
sand is brought in baskets by the chief mourners,
who sometimes sail or journey many miles to procure
it; and each person pours the contents into
the grave, until it is sufficiently filled up. The top
of the grave is, afterwards, carefully tended and
decorated with black pebbles and red coral,
arranged in various devices, which have a very
pretty effect. Small houses are also placed over [565]
the tombs of the chiefs and gentry. Owing, however, [349]
to the circumstance that many of the religious 769
practices of heathenism required visits, and 178
offerings, at the graves of deceased individuals,
whose interposition with the gods was thought
necessary, these places were much more carefully
attended to formerly than they are now. Indeed,
the Missionaries will, probably, find it needful to
advise the people against running into the extreme
of negligence, and indifference, about the last
resting-places of deceased friends.

In the days of heathenism, occasions of burials 574
and marriages were accompanied by immense feastings, 431
proportioned according to the rank of the
parties, or the will of those connected with them.
Property, of various kinds, was always prepared by
the relations and friends against these times, and
brought as gifts. These were thrown into one
common stock, from which they were again distributed,
by those authorized to do so, to the
assembled company. These distributions of property 574
often led to bitter family and tribal animosities, 431
and were seasons when the true and inordinate 578
covetousness of the people could not remain
concealed. These practices still continue, to some [178]

574 extent, and form the chief source from whence
431 evils arise, among church members, which
578 require the exercise of discipline by the
178 Missionaries.

181 The morals of the Tonguese were never so
thoroughly debased as those of the Sandwich or
577 Society Islanders, and other groups that might
be named; but there was enough, nevertheless, to
show how low humanity could fall, when without
the restraints and sanctions of a Divine faith.
595 Polygamy was common, the number of a man's
wives depending upon his own inclination, and his
ability to keep them. Some sentiments relative to
[837] connubial fidelity prevailed, which may be said to
have bordered on morality; for, after the parties
[586] had lived together a while, mutually pleased, it was
considered disgraceful to separate. There were
also some, even among the better classes, who were
content to live with one wife only; and examples
of domestic happiness were by no means
847 uncommon. Infanticide did not disgrace the history,
and destroy the vitality of the Tonguese nation.
855 Children were nurtured with great care and
affection; and aged people were not subjected to the
888 neglect and cruelty that was dealt out to such
persons in Fiji and other Polynesian groups. Yet,
181 with all this, there was much lasciviousness, and
831 want of natural affection.

152 There can be no doubt as to the existence of
266 cannibalism in these islands in former days. It
never became so prevalent as it once was in New
Zealand, nor so truly atrocious in its character,
as it now is, or has been in very recent years, in
the islands of Fiji. It was customary, however,
in times of war; and strange tales are told of one

797 tion, and in the evening conducted a public prayer-meeting, which was well attended.

Monday, 20th.—After visiting some sick people, and dispensing medicines, sailed about nine A.M. for Lifuka. The wind fell light, and becoming contrary as well, we did not arrive at home until four P.M. I have been greatly pleased with what I saw at Haano. The people have built David Kata a good and substantial house. The ground attached to it has been neatly fenced in. They have also built similar premises for the teacher who manages the school. They are evidently a willing people, and I have no doubt the Lord will visit them with "showers of blessing."

July 2nd.—Left Lifuka about two P.M., with a steady breeze for Uiha, which island we reached at sunset. We were met on the beach with much [574] cordiality by the old chief Malubo, and by the teachers, who had provided for us a huge repast, in the shape of *three* large baked pigs, with vegetables in proportion. Having supplied our own wants, we distributed the remainder, according to Tonguese custom. Uiha is one of the best of the [137] Haabai islands. It is particularly remarkable for its immense numbers of cocoa-nut trees. The chapel is a large building, and is situated in the midst of a cluster of large and graceful iron-wood trees.

Sunday, 3rd.—Held a prayer-meeting at sunrise, and preached at nine A.M. to an overflowing congregation. Baptized a large number of little chil- [795] dren as well as two adults, the lingering remnants of Tongan heathenism. At one P.M., I walked to a village called Felemea, two miles distant from Uiha. Here I met and examined ten classes of members, 797 504 We then allowed the boat to go slowly astern, and, when close in shore, the natives swarmed about it like bees, to fend it off the rocks, whilst we made our exit to the shore the best way we could, leaving the boat in charge of three of the islanders, who undertook to manage it in our absence. Such was the difficulty of landing, and the danger of getting the boat injured, that I had no intention to sleep on shore. 797 The people, however, were so gratified by our coming, and they so urgently requested us to stay the night, while assuring us that the boat would be quite safe in the hands of the three skilful men who had taken charge of it, we could not but consent. The preaching service was one to be remembered. Not a few were bathed in tears. Several wild-looking young men, heathens in appearance, if not really so in life, were awakened, and, before morning, they had shorn off their immense locks of tangled and plaited hair, as an evidence of their sincerity. They looked like new creatures, even with that small outward change of costume, and I believe their hearts were still more affected and spiritually changed.

26th.—Early this morning I met the church members, after which I examined the school, and was well satisfied with its condition. Considering the remote and solitary position of the island, the attainments of the scholars were very fair. [574] When our work was completed, this kind people brought us presents of several baked pigs, yams, bananas, fish, fowls, and cocoa-nuts. We then went in search of the boat to the spot where we landed the previous night; but could see nothing of her. As it had been a squally night, we thought it not unlikely that she had been drifted out to sea. How-

A *KAVA* CEREMONY IN TONGA.

By the Rev. M. A. Rugby Pratt.

114 [The writings of W. H. R. Rivers and others have raised the *kava* complex to a
position of theoretical importance in the study of Polynesian ethnology. The
following very detailed account of the ceremonial preparation of *kava* in the
276 Tongan Group is, therefore, of great interest. Such a ceremonial as is here
recorded is now rare in those islands, and many members of modern *kava* parties
574 scarcely know the right positions to take up, much less the details of the
[178] ceremonial.—EDITOR.]

THE ceremonial way of making *kava* is called *milolua*, a word that is also employed to describe one method of straining, or
122 "clearing" the *kava*. The fact that on two occasions the full ceremony was carried through for my benefit was due to the circum-
123 stance that I was the guest of the Rev. J. B. Watkin, who, for fifty-six years has laboured as a missionary in the Friendly Islands, and won the fullest confidence and love of the Tongan people.

123 On the morning of Thursday, August 17th, 1922, accompanied by
[114] my host and the Native minister from Neiafu, the Rev. Paula Fonua, I set out from Neiafu, the capital of Vavau, for the village of Haalaufuli, some eight miles distant. Some two miles before reaching Haalaufuli we were met by a small cavalcade, and the horsemen escorted us to the village. Here we were received at the Mission House, and, having seated ourselves on the *lotoa*, or verandah, a dried *kava* root was laid at our feet, and a small offering of food was presented to us for some visitors who had followed us from Neiafu. This over, Mr. Watkin and I stepped into the Mission House and sat at a table laden with roast chicken, boiled chicken, curried chicken, fried chicken, roast sucking pig, and a profusion of fruit, vegetables and other good things. The only detail that I need mention is that we began the meal with a drink of hot coconut milk, that was served in cups made from folded banana leaf, a beverage that is heated in the *umu*, or oven of hot stones, and which, when poured into the green banana-leaf cup extracts from the cup some essential properties which produce a delightfully cool sensation in mouth and throat.

The meal over, we again repaired to the *lotoa* to be garlanded with exquisitely made floral *sisi*, to hear words of welcome, to hold a levee and to receive the customary gifts. There were two presentations. The first was a *koloa*, or presentation of goods, which included native mats, *tapa* cloth, coconut oil, necklaces made of *hano*, *lopa* and

sialemohemohe seeds, and also a few fans. The second was a *kaitunu* or 123
food presentation. Included in this latter were six great green *kava* roots, nine roast pigs borne on *pola* or litters, scores of baskets of fruit and vegetables, bunches of the prized *tuokava* or chiefly coconuts, many fowls, and a quantity of *ai* nuts, not unlike almonds, that were both in baskets and threaded on the stripped ribs of fronds of the coconut palm. The gifts in the second presentation were arranged in orderly rows on the *malae*. These were duly counted by representatives of the 276
villages, who seated themselves behind the company and announced 574
the number of each sort of gift. The food was then removed from
the *malae*, or assembly ground, saving that five roast pigs were placed 123
in order in front of the *lotoa*. Behind these pigs a party of natives [516]
seated themselves, with crossed legs, beneath the shade of an *ovava* tree, the sacred tree of Tonga. The chiefs and some distinguished folks were ranged at the feet of Mr. Watkin and myself on the *lotoa*, we two alone being accommodated with chairs.

In the centre of the group, on the *malae*, a woven mat was placed 276
over a plaited coconut *pola*. On either side of the mat sat two men, 574
called *hagai kava*, facing the *lotoa*. Beside each was a large, smooth [412]
volcanic stone, and in the right hand of each a smaller volcanic stone. These stones, valuable for their hardness, are brought from the island of Tofua. A green *kava* root was produced, the upper shoots, resembling bamboo sticks, were discarded, and the root itself was scraped and rubbed clean, and then passed to the *hagai kava*. Ordinarily the dried and not the green *kava* root is used for making the beverage. Next a native advanced bearing a *kumete kava* or *kava* bowl, set on four short legs. Before being put in position between the *hagai kava*, it was turned to the guests of honour, with the legs and bottom facing us. The *hagai kava* quickly pounded the root with the hard volcanic stones, the crushed pieces falling upon the mat. When the crushing was complete the broken fragments were put in the *kumete kava*, behind which a handsome woman, the *gaahi kava*, or *kava* maker, now seated herself. In more ancient days the practice was 276
for the crushed root to be distributed amongst the young folks who 574
possessed the whitest teeth, and who, when they had masticated the 178
chips, discharged the contents of their mouths on to a plantain leaf, whence it was transferred to the *kava* bowl. This unhygienic method is now discarded.

The *gaahi kava* with graceful sweeps and curves of arms and hands 276
and body, all movements of symbolic import, began to mix the root 574
and to extract its essence, the while the two *hagai kava* simultaneously poured water slowly from two buckets into the bowl. When she had [415]
made the liquor of sufficient strength, a strainer, which was simply a bunch of fibre or *fau*, was brought and spread by the *gaahi kava* on top

276 of the "brew." In this strainer the *kava* maker, with graceful movements,
574 carefully gathered the "chips" out of the liquor, winding the
415 fibre around them and wringing from it the last drops of fluid, as she
did so, gradually raising the strainer until it was stretched like a rope
276 above her head. Holding it there for a few moments she suddenly,
and quick as a flash, without so much as a glance backward, flung the
574 mass into the lap of a man behind, and, exhausted by her strenuous
exercises, brought her arms to rest, with hands outstretched and palms
uppermost on the outer edge of the *kumete kava*. The man who
received the bunch of strainings, at once shook them out on a mat in
front of him and began dividing the *fau* into two parts.

At the same moment a party of men advanced and with ceremonial dignity bore away the five roast pigs that had been left between us and the *kava* makers. The division of the *fau* being completed one part was returned to the *gaahi kava*, who, with pretty movements gathered into it any dregs or fibrous particles that still remained in the liquor. When the fluid was "cleared" the strainer was exchanged for the rest of the *fau*. This was placed in a bunch on the front lip of the bowl, and then, announcing that the *kava* was ready, the woman brought her arms once again, with open, upturned palms, to rest on the outer lips of the bowl.

[415] Three cup-bearers, called *fakatau kava*, now stepped forward, each holding an *eibu* or cup, fashioned from a coconut shell. The master of ceremonies, who was close to me on the *lotoa*, and who is called the *tufa kava*, gave orders to proceed. One of the cupb-earers advanced to the *gaahi kava* and she saturated the *fau* with the liquor and squeezed a cupful into the *eibu*. The bearer advanced some seven paces and stood still, facing the guests of honour. One of the party called the *ui kava*, or crier, "intoned" with a very prolonged note on the last syllable but one, the announcement "*Kava kua heka*," indicating in this way that the cup was filled. The *tufa kava* named the person to whom it was to be presented. This person at once intimated to the cup-bearer that he was the individual named, by clapping the hands together once and saying the word "*koau*," which is simply the first personal pronoun. The bearer, holding the *eibu* in both hands, advanced with stately step, and with ceremonious politeness presented the cup, holding it as low as he could, in token of respect. The person honoured took the *eibu* in both hands, and quaffed its contents, or if he preferred, merely sampled the *kava*, and then returned the cup.

Cup-bearer number two then had his *eibu* filled by the *gaahi kava* squeezing the saturated *fau*. He advanced, as had his predecessor, a few paces and stood still awaiting a command. The *ui kava* intoned his announcement that the *eibu* was filled, the *tufa kava* called a name, the hand-clapping and drinking followed, and so the ceremony proceeded until some forty persons had been honoured and the *kava* was

276 exhausted. The *gaahi kava* wiped the bowl clean with her bunch of
574 *fau* and again brought her arms to rest on either side edge of the
bowl. A member of the party now advanced, lifted the bowl, and
holding its inner surface towards the guests of honour, slapped it on
[123] its under side and bore it from the scene. The whole *kava* ceremony
thus described in detail, occupied less than forty minutes, and was
followed by a dinner from the food that had ceremonially been
presented to me.

533 After the dinner the whole company marched in procession to the
beautiful Free Church building. Here some seven choirs, drawn from
the five villages of Haalaufuli, Hologa, Houma, Taanea and Magia
united in a *hiva*, or song service. Fourteen anthems were rendered,
two by each choir. The singing was a revelation, and was without any
instrumental accompaniment, and without the aid of the printed score,
or any printed word. Most of the selections were by native composers,
and these showed considerable merit. Two selections, however, were
quite familiar. They were the "Hallelujah Chorus" from Handel's
"Messiah." and "Glorious is Thy Name."

622 One of the chiefs present at these celebrations was a Native doctor,
Mr. George Kubu, who is uncle of Queen Salote, and a brother of the
123 late Queen Lavinia, of Tonga. Two days later I visited his village
122 of Hologa, and he, having noted my interest in the *milolua*, or *kava*
ceremony, had arranged for its repetition in my honour. At this
276 second ceremony, which was preceded by the singing of an ode of
574 welcome, that had been originally composed and sung to welcome to
533 Hologa, the late King George Tubou II. several years ago, the whole
party was seated under a *balebale nofoaga*, or shelter, that had been
276 temporarily erected on the *malae*. The ceremony was the introduction
574 to a feast, and it differed from the previous *milolua* in the fact that the
kava maker was a man, and the cup-bearers were women. On
[123] numerous occasions I saw *kava* made with as little ceremony and as
much haste as possible, and count myself favoured to have witnessed
a ceremony that few are now privileged to see.

KAVA CEREMONIAL IN TONGA.

BY E. E. V. COLLOCOTT.

THE comparative stability of ritual in the midst of 276
changing opinions and interpretations has been often 574
noted, and the ritual of *kava*-drinking at an important 178
ceremony is doubtless the same to-day in essentials as it was a century or more ago, before the tide of European innovation had flowed over the Tongan Group.

The ceremoniousness with which *kava* is drunk varies, 276
naturally, with circumstances; but even a little party of 574
friends observes a fairly strict etiquette round a social bowl, 576
and, on the other hand, important occasions, when king and great chiefs are present, have not all the same pomp.

The ruling house in Tonga is that of the Tu'i Kano- 643
kupolu. The titles of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua are no longer conferred.[1] Some, at least, of the prerogatives of the Tu'i Tonga were transferred to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, George Tupou I., on the death of the last Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, in 1865. Since this date the Tu'i Kanokupolu has
enjoyed an undisputed supremacy. Inter-marriage has pre- [644]
served the blood of the Tu'i Tonga in full stream in the [582]
veins of the present ruling house. George Tupou I., in a speech to his Parliament in 1875, said that the titles of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua had both been conferred by the chiefs upon himself, and he appointed two heads of these houses, Kalaniuvalu of the Tu'i Tonga house, and Tungi of the Ha'a-takalaua. These headships were made hereditary, but the ancient titles of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua have not been conferred upon their holders.

A Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring is a thing of the past, and 643
although a good deal may still be gathered about points in 276
which it differs from that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, which 574
may be observed to-day, it would probably be impossible to reconstruct it in detail.

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[1] See *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 33, No. 3, pp. 166-184.

THE TU'I KANOKUPOLU'S KAVA-RING.

276 I have been an onlooker on several occasions when the
574 present Queen, Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou, has drunk
643 *kava* with her chiefs, including that of her installation as
123 115 queen, and am, moreover, greatly indebted to Ata, the chief
whose duty it is to see that the ritual is properly carried
643 out, for information he has given me. The Tu'i Kanokupolu
613 is the head of the Ha'a Ngata, the House of Ngata, and
565 in the full gathering are chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a
554 Havea, an offshoot of the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a Latuhifo,
who are of the blood of the Tu'i Tonga, the Ha'a Vaea,
which is called a representative name, *hingoa fakafofonga*,
of the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua, and whose chief is Luani. There
was a Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua named Vaea, and this house is
perhaps descended from him. There are also two houses
which are junior branches of the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a
Ma'afu, and the Ha'a Ngata tupu, derivative Ha'a Ngata.
This latter is comparatively recent, and its prominence
dates from the Finau of Mariner's account. Finau, whom
Mariner wrongly regards as the king of the group, was
613 the head of this junior branch. It is difficult to give the
word *ha'a* precision of meaning as tribe, clan, or house.
[575 Besides its application to the noble houses it is applied to
other associations of people joined together by community
of interest, blood, or occupation. However, its application
to the great noble houses, each including several titled
chiefs, is well understood.

276 The following diagram illustrates the structure of the
574 *kava*-ring, and the principal positions in it—
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643
644
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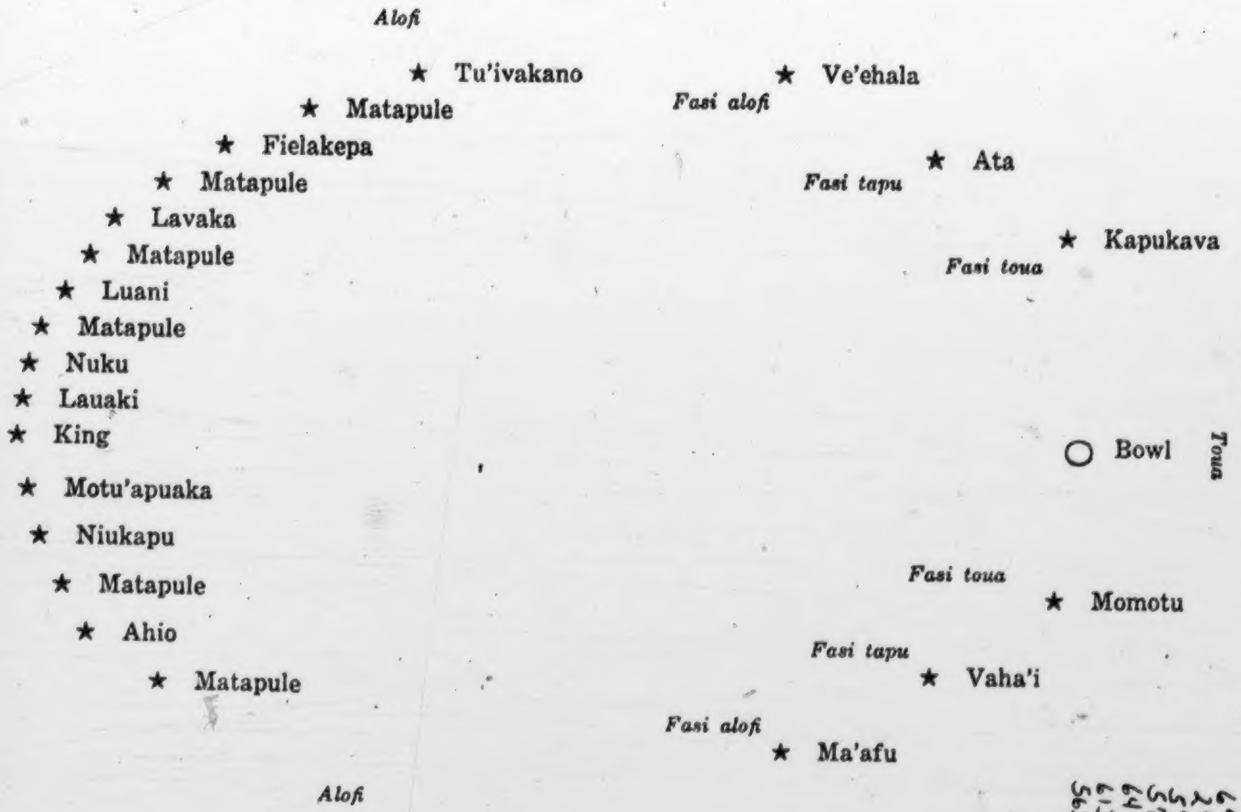
25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9


Alofi
★ Tu'ivakano
★ Ve'ehala
★ Matapule
Fasi alofi
★ Fielakepa
★ Ata
★ Matapule
Fasi tapu
★ Lavaka
★ Kapukava
★ Matapule
Fasi toua
★ Luani
★ Matapule
★ Nuku
★ Lauaki
★ King
○ Bowl
Toua
★ Motu'apuaka
★ Niukapu
Fasi toua
★ Matapule
★ Momotu
★ Ahio
Fasi tapu
★ Matapule
★ Vaha'i
Fasi alofi
★ Ma'afu
Alofi

STRUCTURE OF KAVA-RING.

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276 The ring is elliptical; at one end of the long diameter sits
574 the king, and at the other is the bowl in which the drink
576 is mixed, and from which it is served. On the right and
643 left of the king are his two *matapule*, whom Mr. Hocart
644 calls heralds, Motu'apuaka and Lauaki.[2] To the right of
Motu'apuaka sits Niukapu, and to the left of Lauaki is
Nuku. The Tu'i Kanokupolu, Niukapu and Nuku are called
643 the *Ulutolu*, Three-head. These three are all descended in
173 parallel lines from the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua, who is himself
a son of the Tu'i Tonga. The first Tu'i Kanokupolu was
Ngata, the eponymous ancestor of the Ha'a Ngata, who
was the son, by a Samoan mother, of the sixth Tu'i
Ha'atakalaua. Ngata went from Hahake, the eastern end
of Tongatabu, to Hihifo, the western end; and Hihifo has
always been the principal seat of the Tu'i Kanokupolu,
until comparatively recently, when the capital has become
Nuku'alofa. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'unga-tonga, about
1650, who was the father of Ngata, had a younger brother
Vaoloa, whose son was Nuku, the first of this line. Similarly
Mo'unga-tonga's son and successor Fotofili had a
brother Halakitaua, whose son was the first Niukapu.
Nuku and Niukapu and their kin are also said to be the
Ha'a Latuhifo.

276 On the right of Niukapu is Ahio, followed by other
574 chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata. To the left of Nuku is Luani,
576 representing the Ha'a-takalaua in some way, and following
643 him are chiefs of the Ha'a Havea. Lavaka, Fie-lakepa, and
613 Tu'i-vakano. One informant assigned positions following
565 these Ha'a Havea chiefs to the Fale Fisi, whose chiefs are
the Tu'i Ha'a-teiho, Tu'i Lakepa, Tu'i Ha'a-ngana, and
Malupo. The Fale Fisi are descendants of the Fijian
Tapuosi (the Tu'i Lakemba?), who married a daughter of
the Tu'i Tonga, probably in the seventeenth century.

Although Tu'i Vakano belongs to the Ha'a Havea he seems to be connected in some way with Fiji.[3]

[624] At no part of the ring do two chiefs sit together.
Every chief is accompanied by his *matapule*.

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[113] [2] Hocart, *Chieftainship and the Sister's Son in the Pacific*, American Anthropologist (N.S.), Vol. 17, No. 4, pp. 631-646. See also his *Early Fijians*, J.R.A.I., Vol. 49, pp. 42-51.

[3] Cf. Hocart, *Early Fijians*, J.R.A.I., Vol. 49, p. 44.

I am unable to give in detail the positions of all the 276
chiefs; but there are three very important places on each 574
side just where the ring curves round toward the bowl. 576
This portion is called the *fasi*. The whole circle of chiefs 643
and *matapule* is called the *alofi*. The *fasi* has three divisions, 565
the *fasi alofi*, *fasi tapu*, and *fasi toua*, occupied, on the left,
respectively by three chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata, Ve'ehala,
Ata, and Kapukava; and, on the right, by Ma'afu, Vaha'i,
and Momotu. Ma'afu and Momotu belong to the Ha'a
Havea; but Vaha'i is a son of Nuku, and is said to have
lived in Hihifo, at Foui, as the ambassador, *malanga*, of
Nuku to the Tu'i Kanokupolu.[4] The present prominence [554]
of Vaha'i is probably due largely to the actual might of a [555]
Vaha'i who lived about the beginning of the nineteenth
century, and who was the greatest warrior of his time, at
a period when skill and strength in battle were a passport
to authority. Kapukava has to-day no part in the *fono* (see
below) of Ve'ehala, and Ata surmises that the reason is
that his *fono* was given to Vaha'i.

Ata, who is said to *pule 'ae fonua*, rule the land, and has 644
charge of all things pertaining to the welfare of the king, 643
is, consequently, also said to *pule 'ae kava*, rule the *kava*. 276
He sees that everything is done in order. He has the right 574
to *ha'i 'ae alofi*, bind the *alofi*, which means that if he comes 576
late to a *kava*-ring in which there is no room for him he 565
sits apart; whereupon the chiefs stand up and spread out a
little to make a place for him.

Grouped behind the bowl, or where the bowl will presently 276
be, are the chiefs of the Ha'a Ma'afu, and inferior 574
chiefs of the Ha'a Latuhifo and Ha'a Vaea. This is, in 576 643
short, the position of younger brothers in general. It is 565
called the *toua*.

Apart by himself, to the rear of the *toua*, in a line
with the king and the bowl sits Tungi, the head *(ulu)* of
the Ha'a-takalaua, and with much of the blood of Tu'i
Tonga Fefine flowing in his veins. His connection with the [604]
Tu'i Kanokupolu's *kava*-circle comes through his descent
from Halaevalu Mata'aho, the sister of Taufaahau, King
George I., the founder of the present dynasty, or of the
dynasty in its present status. He is *hako'i fefine*, descendant [604]

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[4] Momotu lived in Kolovai (in Hihifo) as the ambassador of the Ha'a Havea to the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

276 of a woman,[5] and is *fahu* to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The cup
574 which goes to him is *kava he,* wandering *kava.*

576
643 It is said of the Ha'a Ngata tupu that they did not
565 join the *alofi,* but that it was their duty to guard the *kava*-
[604] making for the king. There is, however, a man named Tolo, belonging to this house who drinks in the king's *kava* party. He was brought to drink of the Tu'i Kanokupolu's *kava.*

276 Before any *kava* is prepared for drinking presentations
574 of food and *kava* are brought and placed before the king
643 and chiefs. These are arranged in orderly rows, pigs, yams,
802 etc., and *kava,* so as to be easily viewed. Motu'apuaka directs that they be counted. This is done by a man who walks along the rows of baskets, touching each in turn and counting in a loud voice. When he reaches ten a second man jumps up, holding a staff, and calls "one"; the first man continues counting to twenty, when the second man shouts "two," and so on up to one hundred, when the second man calls "ten," and a third man gets up, holding a staff, and shouts "one." So they go on, the first man actually counting, the second keeping count of the tens, and the third of the hundreds. Should the number of baskets go into the thousands a fourth man would join in. When the counting is finished the result is formally announced, so many pigs (distinguished by the way they are prepared and brought, which is some indication of size), so many plants, roots and bundles of *kava* (also distinguished by the way in which they are brought and size), so many baskets of yams, and perhaps other details are mentioned.

276 Then the presiding *matapule,* Motu'apuaka, orders the
574 *toua* to be put in order, *fakalelei 'ae toua,* and all who
643 do not belong to the *alofi* sit closely grouped in the *toua.* Motu'apuaka bids *kava* be brought, specifying what kind, i.e., what size of plant. This is brought within the circle, and placed at the *toua* end in front of the man who is to prepare the beverage. His place is in the middle of the front of the *toua,* directly opposite, and facing, the king. The *kava* is laid before him with the root toward him and the branches turned away. A man then loosens and divides the root into big sections by striking it with a sharpened

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[5] See Hocart, *Chieftainship and the Sister's Son in the Pacific.* American Anthropologist, Vol. 17, No. 4.

stake. For the smaller sizes of root, those which may be 276
carried on the shoulder of one man, and smaller, this man 574
sits to his task; but for the larger sizes, those which are 643
brought slung on poles or dragged on sledges, he stands. He does his work facing the king. When this is finished the *kava* is turned about, so that the root faces the king and presiding *matapule.*

Motu'apuaka then orders that the root, or portion of it, be broken up, proportioning the amount of *kava* to be prepared to the size of the assembly. Men sitting by the *kava* break off with stakes conveniently sized pieces, which they throw behind them into the *toua,* where they are scraped clean and beaten up small with stones. This grinding with stones is the modern substitute for chewing. A white man resident in the group long enough to have seen the *kava* chewed has told me that it used to be done by people with healthy mouths, usually, it would seem, by comely girls, that remarkably little saliva was mixed with the *kava,* and that he himself felt no difficulty in drinking *kava* prepared in this way. The duty of breaking off the pieces of *kava* from the root belongs to the family of Ata. If none of this family are available the prerogative passes to the family of Vaha'i.

When the *kava* has been beaten up one or other of two men, named Ma'ata-fahi and Tuakalau, both classed as sons of Kapukava, orders the bowl, *kumete* or *tanoa,* water, strainer, and cups to be brought. The same man had the duty of ordering the stake to be brought with which the root was divided in the first place. At this stage he also bids the bowl to be rinsed.

The bowl is placed in front of the man who is to mix and strain the *kava,* and the beaten-up root is placed in it. The bowl is three-legged, and at the top edge is a small [415]
protuberance with a hole in it, through which a cord is tied in a loop, to hang the bowl up when not in use. It is placed so that this hanger is away from the king and *matapule,* and toward the mixer. The mixer grasps two legs of the bowl and tilts it forward toward the *matapule,* so that he may see its contents, at the same time saying, *Koe kava e na'e holo,* There is the *kava* that has been broken. Motu'apuaka responds, *Kuo holo; tuku atu; tu'umalie pe. kae palu,* It is broken up; let go (i.e., let the bowl down on to its

276 legs again) ; it is all right, knead. And at the same time he
574 says to two men who are sitting facing him, one on either
643 side of the bowl, *Tafoki kimoua, 'o 'ai ha'amo vai*, You two
turn, and put in your water. These two then turn inwards toward the bowl, and call for water, merely uttering the one word *Vai.* Water is brought and these two keep dipping it into the bowl, whilst the mixer thoroughly kneads and mixes *kava* and water. When the *matapule* sees that almost enough water has been poured in he calls *Vai taha*, One water, and one man ceases pouring in the water. The other goes on till he sees that there is sufficient water in the bowl, and then, whilst still allowing a trickle to run in, he turns toward the *matapule*, who understands the hint, and says, *Taofi 'ae vai; 'ai mai 'ae fau*, Stop the water; put hither the strainer (a bunch of hibiscus, *fau*, fibre). The man who has mixed then strains out the solid particles of *kava* with the fibre. There are different sets of movements in straining the *kava*, the simplest being merely the actions necessary to putting in the fibre strainer, gathering up the scraps of *kava*, wringing and shaking them out. There are at least two sets of movements, the *faka-mui-fonua* and the *milo-lua*, which are much more elaborate, embracing a long series of graceful movements with hands and arms. The movements are, at least to some extent, determined by the kind of *kava*, i.e., size of the root, employed.

The time of straining the *kava* is the occasion for
[482] distributing the *fono*, food accompanying the *kava*. Motu'apuaka has looked out one or two baskets from the food presented, usually selecting an *umu hula*, basket of food borne
276 on two poles on the shoulders of four bearers. When the
574 time comes for distributing the *fono* this basket is brought
643 forward, and a pig taken out and cut up. The liver, which
264 is placed over the hole in the belly through which he has
been disembowelled, is first taken and laid before the king. The pig is laid on its back, sideways to the king, with its head to the right hand of the carver, who sits facing the king, if the carver is right-handed, and to his left hand if he is left-handed. First the hind leg on the side nearer the king is cut off, then there is a cut round the middle on that same side, round the neck and foreleg, without removing the leg. The pig is then turned over with its belly toward the king. The other hind leg is cut off, and the hindquarters, and a cut made across the back. The head is

carved off; the back is now taken, and finally the forelegs, 276
taking that first which was first cut. The pig being now 574
dismembered is arranged with all its parts in the same 643
order as they are in the living animal. Whilst the pig is 264
being carved the other food which is to be distributed as *fono* is displayed, and the yams counted. Then the *fono* is distributed. The distribution is said to depend on the number of yams; but what is meant by this is probably no more than that the number of yams in each portion depends on the total number of yams available for the purpose.

The actual distribution of the pig follows strict rules. 276
The back of the pig is taken to the king; the head and one 574
hind leg and one foreleg are for Lauaki and the chiefs and 643
matapule on the left; the hindquarters and one hind and 565
one foreleg are for those on Motu'apuaka's side; a yam 264
and the chest of the pig are put in a basket and taken to Ve'ehala. This last portion is named the *vae-tolu*, third division.

These large portions of the *fono* are sub-divided and distributed to individual chiefs and *matapule*. The top part of the head is the share of Nuku, and the part of the hindquarters in which the tail is set belongs to Niukapu. The [554]
hind legs are more important than, are superior to, the forelegs. The hind legs are cut into three parts, and the hindquarters into four. The portion called *tutanga* (I do not know what part this is) is given to a chief, not to a *matapule*.

The portion which is taken to Ve'ehala is cut up at the direction of his *matapule*, who reserves pieces of yam and pig for Ve'ehala and himself, and the remainder is put back in the basket and taken to Ma'afu, whose *matapule* likewise takes a share for his chief and himself; and the basket is then taken in turn to Ata and Vaha'i, whose *matapule* take portions for their chiefs and themselves. The basket is then taken out of the ring, and the food remaining in it belongs to the *kau ngaohi fono*, which means literally, those who act upon, or with, the *fono;* but I have no record of who they are. Ma'afu's share in this particular *fono* is of recent date. Formerly he was on the right-hand side, nearer to Motu'apuaka, in whose *fono* he shared; but King George Tupou I. placed him in the *fasi alofi*, opposite to Ve'ehala, to bring the Ha'a Havea into more prominence. Ve'ehala's sharing in this *fono* dates from the time of Ata Mataila,

276 the second Tu'i Kanokupolu. Ve'ehala and Ata Mataila
574 were brothers, and Ve'ehala's *fono* is not brought from the
643 portion allotted to Motu'apuaka or Lauaki, but from that
565 assigned to the king himself. But the *fono* is not eaten by
264 those to whom it is given. After it has been distributed
certain people who are *fahu* to those to whom the *fono*
has been given come and take it away to dispose of as they
like; they may eat it themselves or give it to whomsoever
they will. Usually the *fono* is not eaten till after the *kava*
ceremony is finished. Those who have the right of eating
the *fono* are spoken of as *kai fono, fono* eaters. Some of
the *fahu* of a chief are spoken of as *kau mokopuna 'eiki,*
noble descendants, or noble grandchildren. (*Mokopuna* is
the word used in translating the English "grandchild," but
of course its Tongan meaning is not so restricted.) Not
565 all *mokopuna* are *'eiki,* noble. (Mr. Hocart's distinction
554 between nobles and chiefs, titled heads of houses, is necessary
and convenient. The Tongan word for both nobles and
chiefs is *'eiki,* but there is a third sense of *'eiki,* viz., superior
in social rank. For example, one may say that such
a one, a member of his family, is *'eiki* to him, i.e., superior
to him in rank within the family; all the members of the
family may be *'eiki,* noble, and some one or other individual
may be the *'eiki,* the titled head.) Whether the *mokopuna*
are noble or not depends on birth, doubtless on the rank of
their mothers. One informant calls the *mokopuna 'eiki*
those who are *'eiki,* socially superior, in their families.
[264] Children, *fanau,* do not eat the *fono,* but only *mokopuna.*
[858] A father is sacred, *toputapu,* to his sons and daughters;
593 they must not touch his head or eat his food; but grandchildren
603 are not bound by *tapu* in respect of their grandparents.

604 But although some may simply say that the *kau mokopuna*
554 *'eiki,* chiefly grandchildren, are those who eat the *fono,*
others lay stress on the sister's son as pre-eminently the
one who is *fahu.* The father's sister's son is also *fahu.* A
very intelligent Tongan says that one cannot lay down a
hard and fast rule as to who is especially *the fahu* in every
case. A concrete example is that of Takai, a descendant of
the daughter of Alea-motua, the Tu'i Kanokupolu who died
in 1845, who is *fahu* and *kai fono* to the present Queen.

[603] The *fahu* rights of the sister's son are clear; but the
children of both sons and daughters have free access to

their grand-parents, and are, at all events in general, of 604
superior social rank to them, yet they are not necessarily 554
fahu to them. [603]

Do the rights of the *mokopuna* and of the sister's son indicate a fusion of two social organizations?

There is also an expression *hako 'eiki,* which simply 611
translated would mean chiefly descendants, but is defined 565
by a Tongan informant as a descendant, *hako,* of a chief other than the one to whom his "body rightly is related," which apparently means a person closely related to one noble house, but having in his veins the blood of some other noble family.[6]

Foreigners, being exempt from the *tapu* binding on 609
the native, may eat the *fono;* but when the descendant of 276
a foreigner has much Tongan plebeian blood claims based 574
on foreignness are disallowed. At a *kava* party of Ata's 576
some women were sitting in the *alofi,* and were ordered to move. One, however, who said she was a Samoan, was allowed to stay, and sat throughout the ceremony with one hand resting on the ground, which would not have been permitted to a Tongan woman or man.

Should there happen to be no *kai fono* in the assembly 276
the chief may call anyone to come and take the *fono.* After 574
the chief's *fono* has been taken no difficulty is felt about 264
the others. The *matapule* may tell the man who is taking away the chief's to take all; he may take all together, or may take the chief's first and then return for the remainder. There is no formality here; it is merely a matter of convenience.

The time occupied with the *fono* is that for certain 276
speeches to be made by the *matapule,* mainly of a con- 574
gratulatory sort. There are certain stereotyped phrases of 537
compliment, e.g., *kei tu'u pe 'ae la'a,* the sun is still in 643
its place, i.e., the king is still well. A very interesting [195]
feature of these ceremonial addresses is the introductory [576]

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[6] *Hou'eiki matua,* noble parents, are chiefs who have become the progenitors of other titled houses, i.e., in addition to their original title which has continued in the direct line, at some point in their history another line and title have branched off from them.

Kai fonua, eating the land. Ata and Vaea are *kai fonua;* first-fruits were taken to them, and they ordered fruits of the land to be taken to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. There were no *kai fonua* chiefs among the Tu'i Tonga chiefs. (*Anga faka-kai-fonua* is said to be an abusive term.)

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

276 *fakatapu*, an invocation of all those who might be dis-
574 pleased at the effrontery of one's speaking in so august an
537 assemblage. The following is the full formula with which
195 a speech should be begun on a ceremonial occasion before
576
643 the Tu'i Kanokupolu: Tapu mo Mo'unga Motu'a (the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua), tapu mo Tu'i Ha'a Mo'unga (the son of Mo'unga Motu'a), tapu mo Ha'a Moheofo (the Tu'i Kanokupolu and his chiefs), tapu mo Ha'a Latuhifo (Niukapu and Nuku), tapu mo Ha'a Ma'afu (who seem to be the descendants of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Ma'afu-'ae-tu'i-tonga), tapu mo Ha'a Vaea (Luani and his family), Pea tapu moe kano 'oe loto'a oe Hau 'aia ko Ha'a-teiho mo Lakepa mo Hoi mo Afitu (And *tapu moe* pith—flesh, heart, centre—of the compound of the King, namely Ha'a-teiho and Lakepa and Hoi and Afitu); pea tapu mo Ha'a Ngata motu'a, pea tapu mo Ha'a Ngata tupu, pea tapu mo Ha'a Havea, pea tapu mo Maliepo mo Molofaha (old names of Motu'apuaka and Lauaki), pea tapu moe tangata 'o Tu'i Tonga 'oku fio he alofi 'oe Hau (and *tapu moe* Tu'i Tonga's man who mingles in the circle of the King), pea tapu moe Fale Fisi, pea tapu mo Ha'a Ngana mo Ha'a Ngana (two houses of the Fale Fisi), pea tapu mo Sina'e ki mu'a (a house connected with the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu mo Sina'e ki mui (a house connected with the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu mo ha'a fokololo 'oe Hau (and *tapu mo* servants (?) of the King), pea tapu moe alofi moe alofi (that is, both sides of the *alofi)*, pea tapu moe fasi tapu moe fasi tapu (that is, the *fasi tapu* on either side), pea tapu moe toua 'eiki na, pea ka ai ha lea e mahehei kuo 'osi eku fakatapu kae ata keu lea (and *tapu moe* yon noble *toua*, and if there be a word that goes astray my *fakatapu* is finished and I am free to speak).

The corresponding formula for an assembly of the Tu'i Tonga is: Pea tapu moe 'Afio 'o Langi (And *tapu moe* Majesty of Heaven, i.e., the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu moe Tu'i Kelekele (the Tu'i Pelehake, a classificatory brother of the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu moe Tu'i Kakai (King of the People, i.e., the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua), pea tapu moe Toua Hili[7] (the Tamaha), pea tapu moe Toua Ato (said to be

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[7] *Toua hili* might mean behind the *toua*. Note that in the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava* ring Tungi, who is descendant of a woman has a special place behind the *toua*. I have learnt nothing about the position of the Tamaha in the Tu'i Tonga's circle, but the Tamaha is also descendant of a woman, being the child of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

those whose mothers are noble on the side of the Hau, Tu'i 276
Kanokupolu, and fathers are noble in the Tu'i Tonga family), 574
pea tapu moe Sina'e ki mu'a (Tafolo, and perhaps 537 195
Tamale), pea tapu moe Sina'e 'eiki, pea tapu moe Sina'e ki 576
mui (perhaps Tamale, or Manumua and Lomu), pea tapu 643
moe Tu'i Hoi, pea tapu mo (moe) Faoa Manafa. Koe ngata e tala 'o Fanakava kae ata kae fai hano tala (The end of the telling of Fanakava[8] and it is clear to make its speech).

Before the *kava* is distributed the presentations of 276
food and *kava* are taken outside the ring. Motu'apuaka will 574
probably order them to be taken for Lauaki, who will 576
superintend their distribution, either personally or by a
deputy. If there be a chief present whom it is desired to 276
honour, for example a visitor, Motu'apuaka may order that 574
these presentations be taken for his *matapule;* or Lauaki, 576 565
in making the actual distribution, will see that he gets a 554
large share. In such distributions the chiefs for whom portions *(inasi)* are designed are not named, but their *matapule*, and the *matapule* express thanks for the gifts. Visiting chiefs thus honoured will be expected to provide a good reception when, later on, they are visited in their own homes.

It will be recalled that three men are seated at the 276
kava-bowl, one at either side, and one behind facing the 574
king. The man on the side, in a line with the *matapule* who is directing operations says, when the straining is finished, *Kuo ma'a 'ae kava ni*, This *kava* is clear. The *matapule* responds *Tokonaki 'o fakatau*, Make ready and deal out. Then the cups, which have been in making whilst the *kava* was being brewed are brought.[9]

Of the two men seated at the side of the bowl one "calls," that is, calls out as each cup is filled; and the other removes the little pieces of *kava* that adhere about the rim of the bowl, usually employing a small piece of coconut-leaf

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[8] Fanakava, so far as one can get information about it from living [778]
Tongans, is remembered mostly as a sanctuary. It is a very sacred part of the Tu'i Tonga's ground in Mu'a.

[9] Although cups of coconut-shell are used on lesser occasions the [415]
cups used at great ceremonies are of folded plantain leaf. The coco-
nut-shell cups of Niua Fo'ou differ from those of other parts of the [283]
Tongan Group in having a hole near the edge through which is [824]
threaded a cord of twisted hibiscus fibre, to serve as a hanger.

276 for the purpose, and using only the hand on the side nearer
574 the king.

People come from the *toua*, each bearing a cup, and
276
574 stand ready. The first approaches and holds his cup over
576 the bowl, whilst the man who has brewed the *kava* wrings
some of the beverage into it. The caller cries *Koe kava kuo*
[533] *heka*, The *kava* is lifted. It might be better to say that the caller sings this; even on ordinary occasions this, and the *matapule's* response, are uttered in a musical chant; whilst on great occasions cry and response are drawn out much longer. Motu'apuaka replies, *'Ave ia ma'a Lauaki*, Take it for Lauaki. Lauaki claps his hands, and the cup is taken to him. The second cup is for Niukapu, and the third for
[613] the king.[10] The *matapule* orders the king's cup to be brought
[192] in different terms from those used for the other cups; he says, *Omai ia ki heni ma'a Tupou*, Bring it here for Tupou.
[565] So in other *kava* parties the cup for the highest chief pre-
[554] sent is ordered to be brought here, not taken, for the chief. Each cup as it is filled is called, a name given by the *matapule* for it to be taken to, and the person called claps to show his whereabouts. The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh cups are taken in order to chiefs and *matapules*, alternating from one side to the other, to Nuku, to the *matapule* next Niukapu, to the *matapule* next Nuku, to Ahio. The eighth cup jumps to the *fasi alofi*, to Ve'ehala. The ninth cup returns to where the distribution left off to go to Ve'ehala, and three more are served on either side; then to the chief in the *fasi alofi* opposite to Ve'ehala, namely Ma'afu. Three more on either side, and then Ata, in the *fasi tapu;* three more on either side and then Vaha'i, in the *fasi tapu* opposite to Ata. Three on either side, and then to Tungi, out by himself behind the *toua*. Three on either side, and then to Tolo, who was brought from Vava'u to Tongatabu to represent the Ha'a Ngata tupu in the king's *kava* party. He sits in the *toua*. Then the *matapule* who is ordering the distribution has a cup brought to himself. He, however, does not at once drink it, but sits with it between his hands, resting on the ground. The distribution then goes on as before, three on either side, followed by a cup which "jumps," *hopo*. The distribution goes through all the *ha'a*

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[10] At a comparatively informal *kava* party I have seen the first cup brought to the Queen.

tribes, clans, represented, three on either side, with special 276
chiefs marked by cups which "jump." Following the Ha'a 574
Ngata come the Ha'a Ma'afu, of which Vaea drinks the 576
first cup, or the principal cup, the Ha'a Latuhifo, the Ha'a Vaea and the Ha'a Havea. (This was the order given to me, but it can hardly be meant that this order of the *ha'a* is strictly followed, if it is followed at all, from the beginning, as obviously many of the chiefs of these *ha'a* must have drunk amongst the earlier cups.) If this does not complete the ceremony there will be a cup for a Ha'a Ngata chief or noble, one for the Ha'a Ngata tupu, and one for the Ha'a Ma'afu. This last will not be drunk by the holder of a title, but by a close relative, usually by some one classed as a younger brother of the king. So the distribution goes on, two threes, and special cups, "jumping" and designating the *ha'a*, in the same order.

When the *kava* is nearly finished the caller drinks, and after a few more cups his vis-a-vis, called *anga'i kava*, drinks his. If there is still sufficient *kava* it will be distributed amongst those in the *toua*, the *matapule* ordering the succession according to his judgment of rank. Finally Ata says to *toe kava*, remainder the *kava*, and the caller cries, *Koe toe kava e*, There is the remainder of the *kava*. The *matapule* replies, *Tuku ia ma'ae tau kava*, Leave it for the server of *kava*. The *matapule*, who has been holding his cup since it was given to him, then drinks. The server wipes the bowl with the fibre strainer, another man takes away the bowl, and the server drinks the cup which he has filled for himself. The two men at the side of the bowl turn and face the king. A man goes and brings away the *matapule's* cup, and when he has sat down again in his place in the *toua* Vaha'i, without rising, moves forward with two short slides, and says to the *matapule*, *Ko hono ngata e mau kava*, That is the end of the piece of *kava*; to which the *matapule* responds, *Hiki 'ae toua*, Remove the *toua*. These in the *toua* then get up and go away. No one in the *alofi* must rise till the *toua* have gone. Then the *alofi* rise and leave.

During the ceremony the family, *fanau*, of Vaha'i see that order is maintained. They are the guardians of Ha'a Ngata.

Whilst the *kava* is being prepared Ata looks round to see that the chiefs are sitting in their proper places. When

When
276 one has drunk his *kava* in the Tu'i Kanokupolu's *kava*-ring
574 he puts his cup down in front of him, whence it is taken
576 and returned to the bowl to be refilled by the cup-bearers.

643 Ve'ehala, Ma'afu, Ata, and Vaha'i do not drink the cup
276 brought to them, but hand their cups to their *matapule*,
574 and when the *matapule's* cups are brought they hand these
565 624 in their turn to their chiefs. The reason of this exchange
554 is said to be to make sure that the *matapule* get *kava;* the
chiefs know that they will not be left long without a cup.

There is a poem relating to the displeasure of the Tu'i
276 Kanokupolu Mumui, because a *matapule* intercepted a root
574
576 of *kava* that was being taken to the king. The *matapule*
554 maintained that, as the king's *matapule*, he was justified
565 624 in taking the *kava* for himself. A *matapule* is entitled to the
643 deference due to his chief. If the king's *matapule* is present
644 at a *kava* ceremony when the king himself is absent the
ceremony will be carried through as though the king were
there, the *matapule* taking the king's place.

276 In the *kava*-ring chiefs are called by their own names
574 to receive their cups, but in distributions of food and other
576 gifts chiefs' names are never called, but their *matapule*
565 624 are called as recipients of the gifts.

[551] If a chief and his *matapule* are alone, and desire to drink *kava*, the chief prepares and serves the drink. A chief would climb a tree to get a coconut for his *matapule* to drink. These are strictly private concerns when the chief and *matapule* are alone, and are called *faka-fale-puipui*, within the screened house.

Everybody receives his *kava* with two hands, and drinks holding the cup between his two hands. When a chief hands his cup to his *matapule* he passes it to him with one hand, but the *matapule* receives it with both hands. (Is there any connection between this and the two-handled beaker of some other cultures?)

624 Several *matapule* are said to be Samoans. Lauaki
829 came to the Tu'i Kanokupolu from the Tu'i Tonga, and
644 is said to be a descendant of Maliepo, one of the heavenly half-brothers of the first Tu'i Tonga, Ahoeitu, son of Eitumatupua, lord of heaven, and a mortal woman. Because Maliepo and his brothers in the sky murdered Ahoeitu, who was brought again to life, they had to serve him in one capacity or another when he became Tu'i Tonga. (See *Folk-lore*, Vol. 35, No. 3, p. 282.)

Kamoto, an important *matapule,* is the head of Fale 624
Hakili, House of Hakili, said to be a Samoan house. He 613
was brought to Hihifo when Ngata, the eponymous ances- 829
tor of the Ha'a Ngata, son of the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua and a Samoan woman, was born.

Uhi was brought to Ata.

The Tu'i Kanokupolu has *matapule* in other parts 643
besides Tongatabu; Kofe and Afeaki in Ha'apai, Fotu and 644
Afu in Vava'u, Masila and Kaufana in Niua Fo'ou, Sika and Haufano in Niua Toputapu, Elili and Malala in Uvea (Wallis Island).

DIFFERENT SORTS OF KAVA.

Different sizes of complete *kava* plants or portions of 276
it, are brought and presented in different ways, and have 574
distinguishing names. 576
482

1st. *Kava fua taha, kava* borne on the shoulder of one man. This is put down directly in front of the king, root toward him.

2nd. *Kava tofitofi,* divided *kava,* properly in bundles of ten. Several men bring this on their shoulders, and it is placed to the left of 1, roots toward the king.

3rd. *Kava no'o,* bound *kava,* small pieces tied in bundles of ten. Placed to the left of 2.

4th. *Kava ha'amo, kava* borne on a pole. A large root slung on a pole between two bearers, and placed to the right of 1.

5th. *Kava hula, kava* borne on two poles. This is still larger, and is slung on two poles carried by four bearers. It is placed to the right of 4.

6th. *Kava toho,* dragged *kava,* brought on a sledge of *fa,* pandanus wood, and placed to the right of 5. This seems to be placed upright on the sledge.

7th. *Kava fakatefisi, kava* in the *Tefisi* manner. This is the largest of all, and is brought lying on a sledge of *fa,* root forward, and the front of the root covered by plaited coconut leaf, called *fakatefisi.* (The same word is applied to a similar plait of coconut leaves in house-building. *Tefisi,* cf. Tahiti, Fiti, etc., is a place name in Tonga.)

All *kava* plants are placed before the king with the 276
roots foremost. The specially elaborate movements of hands [643]
and arms in straining the *kava* belong properly to occasions when either of the two largest sorts of *kava* plant, or root,

276 is used. The straining for *kava toho* is *milo-lua*, double
twist. To begin this the fibres for straining are picked up
with one hand. For *kava faka-tefisi* the straining is *faka-mui-fonua*,
land's-end-manner, to begin which the fibres are
picked up out of the bowl with two hands.

INSTALLATION OF A CHIEF.

565 The essence of the installation of a chief is the calling
622 him into his place in the *kava*-ring, to receive his cup
554 by his new title. As a concrete example I was told that
276 Ve'ehala was to be installed, and that at the *kava* ceremony
574 he would sit in the *toua* whilst the *kava* was being prepared,
and that when all was ready Motu'apuaka would
say, *Koena 'a Ve'ehala, koe nofoanga e ki he tokelau*, There
Ve'ehala, the seat yonder to the north.

At the installation of Ahio in January, 1920, Ahio sat next to Kioa, a classificatory younger brother of Motu'apuaka, who was absent. The first cup was given to Ahio.

INSTALLATION OF TU'I KANOKUPOLU.

Until recent years the Tu'i Kanokupolu was installed
643 at a great *kava* ceremony in Hihifo, the old seat of this
kingship. The Tu'i Kanokupolu has now become the constitutional
ruler of the whole group, absorbing into himself
both the titles of the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua,
and the installation of the last two rulers has been at the
137 modern capital Nuku'alofa. On the green, *mala'e*, in Hihifo,
824 where the installation previously took place, stood three
644 trees, a *koka*, with an *orava*, banyan, on either side. The
king sat with his back to the *koko*, and the banyans were
824 called Motu'apuaka and Lauaki, the *matapule*. A piece of
644 the ancient *koka* has been let into the back of the modern
throne.

At the installation of the present Queen, in 1918, a
276 coronation ceremony on the European model was followed
574 by a native installation with appropriate *kava* ceremony
644 on the *mala'e* at Nuku'alofa. Before the installation of a
565 Tu'i Kanokupolu it seems to have been the practice for the
554 king-elect, Ata, and Ve'ehala to meet together that the
king might be instructed by these two chiefs in his duties
as guardian of the country. After the *kava* ceremony he
was taken to a place near the *mala'e* in Hihifo, and received

further exhortation from Ata and Ve'ehala, but on this 643
occasion each chief met and talked with the king separately.

On the following day there was another gathering on [276]
the *mala'e* for another *kava* ceremony, the *pongipongi tapu.* [574]

On the night between his installation and the *pongipongi tapu* the king slept in the compound, *api,* named Le'ole'o, Guarding, Vigil, near the *mala'e.*

The positions of the chiefs and *matapule* in the *alofi* 276
will be the same as that already noted. In connection with 574
the installation of Her Majesty Queen Salote I was told 643
that the position of Ulukalala, the chief of the Ha'a Ngata 565 622
tupu, was behind the *toua,* and that, as he was absent, his 624
cup was poured out on the ground in the place where he 576
should have been sitting. A man of mixed Tongan and Samoan blood, who has spent some time in Samoa, says that in Samoa, in these Christian days, there is still a practice of pouring out a little *kava* on the ground to God.
I think I have heard an old Tongan say that there was [782]
an old Tongan custom of pouring out *kava* to gods, and
throwing a little up into the air to the gods who dwelt in the skies.

During the *kava* ceremony of the installation of the 276
Tu'i Kanokupolu there are three speeches, delivered by 574
Tovi, Fa'oa and Ata. The first, *tala toafa,* telling of the 643
shore-flats, deals with the shell-fish; the second, *tala hakau,* 537
telling of the reefs, deals with fish, especially with the *atu,* bonito. These speeches, whilst doubtless an exhortation to the people to do their duty to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, are also an exhortation to the Tu'i Kanokupolu to do his duty in taking the fruits of the shore and sea to the Tu'i Tonga. The third, *tala fonua,* telling of the land, deals with the face of the land, including an exhortation to the people to procure the trees to build the new king's compound and house, named Tangi-tu-langi, which another informant renders Tangi-atulanga. The compound was enclosed by 644
several fences, one within the other, the building of which was apportioned amongst the chiefs. The chiefs and nobility [622]
forming the king's court had pieces of land round the royal [565]
compound. The names of some of these compounds have been taken by chiefs to other parts of the group, whither they have removed and formed settlements with their people.

276 The speakers do not stand to deliver these speeches,
574 but slide forward in two jerks, returning to their places
643 by two backward slides when they have finished.

537 The mats and cloth where the king sits are given to
516 Ata when the ceremony is finished; the king's clothing,
276 *vala*, to Motu'apuaka and Lauaki. Whilst the *kava* is being
574 prepared Motu'apuaka and Lauaki dispute about who is to
643 565 distribute it. Originally, it seems, there was a contention
622 in real earnest, which was finally brought to the test of
[431] who (or whose son) had slain most men in a battle. In
this Lauaki won the pre-eminence, but later gave the honour up to Motu'apuaka, who still holds it. The traditional dispute, however, is part of the ceremony. When the water was ordered at the Queen's installation to mix the *kava*, a number of people jumped up and ran to fetch it. The water was brought from a tank, or other supply, at a little distance; and presently there was a crowd of runners, going and coming, between the water supply and the *kava*-bowl. None brought much at a time. Anyone who had a large container contrived to spill a considerable amount of the water he was carrying before he reached the bowl. In the midst of this bustle there was a certain amount of good-humoured splashing of those engaged in the task.

The explanation given of this custom is that it is to show how large a number of people are eager to fly in the service of the king. All sorts of receptacles are used now-a-days, including buckets, but it is said that formerly only small vessels, such as hollow bamboos, were used. The hibiscus fibre with which the *kava* is strained is supplied in seven portions, a portion each by the Ha'a Ma'afu, the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a Havea, the Ha'a Ngata tupu, the Ha'a Ata (Tongatea of Ha'akame), the Ha'a Vaea (Luani of Vava'u), and the Ha'a Maofanga (in Hihifo; Latukefu has charge of this portion).

276 As the Queen moved onto the *mala'e* for her installa-
574 tion she was preceded by a man who ran ahead, brandishing
643 a spear, crouching and looking round. His face was black-
644 ened, and he had the appearance of a scout or guard; but
in his performance was a strong element of burlesque. The
most extraordinary part of his behaviour was during the
[576] actual *kava* ceremony. He was free of all *tapu*, and his
[784] conduct, in other circumstances, would have been shock-
ingly offensive. He smoked, lounged, and walked close

before and behind the Queen's person, and when the pig's 276
liver was placed before her he impaled it on his spear, and 574
ate it. This man is a Fijian (of course the amount of 643
Fijian blood in this particular individual may be but little), 644
belonging to the Ha'a Havea. His name is Moa, and the [576]
same man played the part at the installation of the present [784]
Queen and of her father. Moa is connected with Tu'i-vakano. Of the origin of Tu'i Vakano it is related that a Fijian couple lived with Mataele Ha'amea, the fourth Tu'i Kanokupolu, about the beginning of the eighteenth century. A son was born to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and given to the Fijian couple, becoming the first Tu'i Vakano.

It is said that a man named Soakai is allowed to eat [576]
and smoke in the *kava* party of the Tu'i Tonga chiefs, and he is said to have smoked in the *kava* party of the late king, George Tupou II.

The Kau Fale-fa, the *matapule* of the Tu'i Tonga, were 276
allowed to eat in the *kava* party of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. 574
It is probable that the exemption from ordinary *tapu* enjoyed 643
by these is connected with the fact of foreignness, 644 576
Moa being Fijian, Soakai also, as his name implies, and as 609
is stated by tradition. He is a member of the Fale-fa. (See *Folk-lore*, Vol. 32, No. 1, p. 57.) The Kau Fale-fa, as *matapule* of the Tu'i Tonga, would be privileged in respect of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and tradition, moreover, assigns to them a Fijian descent.

THE TU'I TONGA'S KAVA.

Although the ritual of the Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring was, 276
doubtless, much like that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu procedure, 574
there were certain differences. It is difficult to get to-day an 643
exact description of the Tu'i Tonga ritual, but the following known differences from the Tu'i Kanokupolu ritual may be noted.

In the first breaking of the root in large pieces the man doing this work in the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava*-ring turns toward the king; but in the Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring he turns away from the king.

The bowl was turned round the opposite way, so that the hanger pointed toward the king *(fuli taunga,* turning the hanger). The Tu'i Tonga received the second cup, not the third as the Tu'i Kanokupolu does. This cup was not called, but presented in reverent silence.

276 The cups are called differently. The *matapule* in the
574 Tu'i Tonga ring says, *Koe kava ia 'a me'a*, It is the *kava* of
643 so-and-so. The cup-bearer informs the *matapule* that the
cup has been filled, not a man sitting by the bowl as in the
Tu'i Kanokupolu's ring.

In the Tu'i Kanokupolu ritual the cup-bearer stoops as the cup is filled, and as he presents it to the one who is called; but in the Tu'i Tonga ritual the cup-bearer sits, both as the cup is being filled, and as he presents it to the drinker.

[516] In the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava*-ring the *matapule* sit with
[554] their feet covered, hands clasped before them, resting in
[565] their laps, and formerly with index fingers together and
[516] extended. In the Tu'i Tonga's *kava* party the *matapule*
[554] need not cover their feet, and may dispose of their hands
[565] as they please.

Cup-bearers in the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava*-ring may cross the ring, going or coming with full or empty cups; but in the Tu'i Tonga's ring it was not permitted to cross the ring. It is said that a space was left between the *alofi* and *toua* for the cup-bearers to pass, but it is not clear whether this implies that they had to go and come outside the ring, or whether they could skirt round just inside it.
[784] In any case it is implied that the Tu'i Tonga's *alofi* was *tapu* in a way in which the Tu'i Kanokupolu's is not. The *fono* is taken and eaten by certain *fahu* as in the case of the Tu'i Kanokupolu ceremony. An informant mentions the Family of Ma'afu, *Fanau 'a Ma'afu*, whom he calls Rotumans, and the Kau Fale-fa, the *matapules* of the Tu'i Tonga, of Fijian descent, as being able to eat remains of the Tu'i Tonga's food. This, of course, does not imply that they are the people who may eat his *fono*. It is not likely that any living Tongan could reconstruct in its entirety the Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring, giving the position of all the chiefs, or even of the principal ones; but the late chief Tamale said that his own position was in the *fasi tapu*. He added that the chief Tafolo was once of equal rank with the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua. In counting the baskets of food presented, in the Tu'i Tonga ceremonial the first basket only is touched, and the remainder merely pointed at. In comment on this it was said that the first basket is for the Tu'i Tonga himself, and he alone is chief. In counting the baskets at a

Tu'i Kanokupolu ceremony the counter touches each basket, 276
using alternately the right and left hand. 574

Great as was the Tu'i Tonga, the Tama-ha, Sacred 643
Child, the child, especially the daughter, of his sister or of his father's sister, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, was, by the ordinary rules of social precedence, his superior. This superiority was acknowledge by presentations of food, and presumably of *kava*. The basket of food taken by the Tu'i Tonga to the Tamaha was slung on a pole between two bearers, and by a fiction represented as borne on the king's own shoulder. A piece of native cloth was tied to the basket, and the Tu'i Tonga walked along, holding the end of this cloth. This was called the *ha'amo,* bearing on a pole, of the Tu'i Tonga.

VISITS TO SHRINES.

The presentation and drinking of *kava* was an essential 276
part of the visit and supplication to gods. The priest seems 782
to have been the chief at such a ceremony; as the Tongan 793
expression has it, the *kava* was his, or to him.

In visiting a shrine it would appear that even great 276
chiefs did not disdain to serve the *kava*, and act as cup- 778
bearers to the gods. An excellently-informed and elderly 782
chief told me that Taufaahau, King George Tupou I., was 793
serving the *kava* during a memorable visit to a shrine in 643
Ha'apai, to which was attached a priestess. It was in the early days of Christianity, and Taufaahau avowed his nascent disbelief in the old gods by smiting the priestess in the throat, with the butt end of a coconut leaf, as she was drinking her cup of *kava*.

The late chief Tamale, an elderly man when I knew 276
him, said that when *kava* was taken to the great god of 782
eastern Tongatabu, Pulotu Katoa, who was especially asso- 793
ciated with Nuku, the *kava* was presented, or the ceremony 776
directed, to the god's priest Vakahi. Those who acted as *matapule* at such a ceremony were Ma'elo, a younger brother
of Nuku, and Tamale, the son of Nuku's daughter. The [825]
representative of this god, or that through which the god came into rapport with the physical world, was a dog, and a dog lay beside the priest during the ceremony.

The offerings to a god would include food, cloth, mats, etc., and doubtless served to enrich the priests.

PRIESTS.

276 The suggestion has been made that priests were free
574 to sit in the *alofi* of all *kava* ceremonies. It is said that a
793 living pastor of the Methodist Church, belonging to Ha'ano,
643 of which island the chief alone, the Tu'i Ha'a-ngana, and
his *matapule*, have places in the *alofi* of the king's *kava* party, sat in the *alofi* at a *kava* party of the late king, George Tupou II. When his position was challenged he claimed the right to be there as a *taula-'eiki*, priest, because of his status as a pastor in the Mission, and his claim was allowed. Doubtless this case illustrates the king's good nature rather than the cleric's inherent right, but points to ancient priestly privilege.

KAVA TO A TRAVELLING PARTY.

276 The root is brought and placed before the leader of
574 the travelling party, or man of highest rank amongst them.
485 He thanks the donors for their gift, picks it up, and puts
565 it down again. The *matapule* of the highest chief present,
554 whether he is one of the travellers or not, calls for the
624 *kava* to be brought to him, and has the whole, or portion,
[431] prepared and drunk. The piece of root not being beaten up and brewed, or some other piece of *kava*, lies before the *matapule* the while. When one round has been drunk he orders the piece of *kava* lying before him to be taken to the *matapule* on the other side of the chief (in important *kava* ceremonies of all kinds the highest chief has a *matapule* on either hand, other chiefs present have but one). This *matapule* will then supervise a second round of drinking, using the liquor left in the bowl from the first round, if there be enough, or ordering the pieces already strained out to be beaten up and used again, or having a fresh piece of root prepared. If there be a third round the piece of root and supervision return to the first *matapule*, and so on.

The passing of function from one *matapule* to the other is not confined to parties welcoming travellers.

276 In any *kava* party the *matapule* may at the point when
574 it is announced that the *kava* is clear, *Kuo ma'a ae kava ni*,
565 give away the *kava* that is in front of him to anybody in
624 the ring, to do what he likes with. Guests are frequently
so honoured. The *matapule* says, *Tauhi 'ae kava ni ma'a*

me'a, Take this *kava* for so-and-so; the person named, or 276
his *matapule*, responds, *Fakafetai, Thanks.* Such a piece of 574
kava is at the disposal of him to whom it is given; but if 565
there be a shortage for the needs of present sociability he 624
will probably have it beaten up and drunk.

FUAKAVA.

The word *fuakava*, translated to-day as oath, is said 276
to have originated in the practice of settling disputes over 574
the *kava*-bowl. 578

The heads of the family or families concerned would get the dissentients together, and, whilst *kava* was being prepared, go into the matter in dispute. Pleas and arguments on both sides were heard, the whole matter thoroughly ventilated, and ways of accommodation suggested. The *kava* was not drunk till a friendly settlement was reached. The first round of the drink taken in the reestablished harmony was the *fua-kava*, said to mean literally first-*kava*. To drink of this *kava*, and afterwards to be disloyal to the agreement reached would make one *mala'ia*, accursed. The first cup is the *kava 'oe 'otua, kava* of the god, and was poured out on the ground.

GIVING OF KAVA.

During a time of war some generations ago the chief 173
Niukapu sought sanctuary with the priest Kautae, who 778
preserved the inviolacy of the sanctuary at the cost of the 793
sacrifice of his own child. For this devotion Niukapu told 276
Kautae to ask what return he would, and the priest 574
requested the chief to give him his *kava*, i.e., the right to drink Kautae's cup in *kava* ceremonies. This was granted, and the right has been exercised freely. The name Kautae has been continued to the present day, and when one priest dies a new one is installed. In a *kava* party where both Niukapu and Kautae are present when Niukapu's cup is called Kautae may say, *Ha'u 'ae kava koe ki heni,* That *kava* come here.

Another right is illustrated by the claim that may be 276
made by any man called Tapuosi on the cup of a Fale Fisi 574
chief. The chiefs of the Fale Fisi, Malupo, Tu'i Ha'a-teiho, 551
and Tu'i Ha'a-ngana have their descent from the Fijian Tapuosi, probably the Tu'i Lakemba, who married a daughter of the Tu'i Tonga in the seventeenth century.

276 To-day if a man named Tapuosi be present in the *kava*
574 party of a Fale Fisi chief he may call for the cup of the
551 Fale Fisi chief to be brought to him. This calling is a sign of the claim to be a *tupuanga*, progenitor, of the one whose cup is called.

NAMES.

551 Chiefs have several names; the name or names by
565 which they are known from infancy, or which are given to them later in life; hereditary titles, which do not belong to them till they have succeeded to, and been installed in, a chieftainship; and nicknames, *hingoa fakatenetene*, which are always of pleasant objects, very frequently of sweet-smelling and valued plants and flowers. These last are names of friendly and familiar intercourse, and would not be used in *kava*-drinking, except at an informal social party. A high chief compares their use to the use of Christian names among white people.

276 The proper name for a *kava* ceremonial is the title.
574 Titles must be used only by the chiefs who actually bear
551 them. An old lady, closely related to a previous chief
554 Ahome'e, his daughter I think, who is customarily called
576 by the name Ahome'e, much as we call a married woman
565 by her husband's name, was turned out of the *alofi* of a *kava* party, because no relatives of Ahome'e are allowed in the *alofi*, but only Ahome'e himself. The same thing applies to all other titles. Sometimes the *matapule* does not know the names of all in the party, and has to make inquiries. Such questioning is done in a discreet, delicate way. The *matapule* usually asks in a low voice of someone sitting near him. In one of the Niuas (Niua Fo'ou or Niua Toputapu) such questioning is much more open, and the Tongans call faka-Niua, Niua fashion, the open asking and telling of names.

A European friend has told me that he has seen a youth, the son of the chief Tafolo, whose title had become almost a surname in everyday use by members of his family, give this name in a *kava* party, to find it disallowed. He was made to give some other name under which to have the *kava* served to him. This was in a comparatively informal friendly gathering.

The titles of *matapule* must not be used indiscriminately. At a *kava* party at which the Queen was present

a woman gave the name of Lelenoa, but this was disallowed, 276
as she was sitting on the wrong (in this case on the right- 574
hand) side of the ring. Lelenoa is a *matapule* of Tungi, 551 554
and his proper place is on the left-hand side of the ring. 576
Had the woman been sitting on that side the name, appar- 565
ently, would have been allowed to pass. *Matapule* names
may be transferred, but chiefs' titles may not.

In concluding this brief, and somewhat disjointed, 000
sketch of an important ritual, of which an adequate treatment would involve an examination of the whole structure of Tongan society, and of much beyond, I desire to thank many Tongan friends to whom I am indebted for information, and especially Ata.

The tabus relating to contact with the body of a superior are nat- 784
urally most marked in reference to high chiefs, but the respect paid 565
to chiefs seems to be part and parcel of the general social system, 576
throughout which the gradations of rank are well known.

The head and back are the most sacred portions of a chief's body. [826]
No one will touch the head of a superior nor pass close behind his
back without apology. In the case of a great chief he would not
pass there at all. In certain great ceremonial kava drinkings there 276
is a high chief who sits, not in the ring where the majority of the 574
chiefs have their place, called the *alofi*, but in the portion of the 576
ground where the kava is prepared, called the *toua*. But although 565
this chief is called the chief of the *toua*, he sits by himself at some
distance to the rear and side of the group who are brewing the drink,
so that all work in connection with the ceremony is performed without
anyone's passing behind him. So in the *alofi* the attendants as they
come and go always pass within the circle, before the chiefs, and
never outside, behind them.

Eating and drinking in the presence of a high chief of greatly 264
superior rank to oneself is tabu. A great chief himself may experi- 565
ence this inconvenience in the presence, e.g., of the king. This has 576
been noted by old voyagers, and an example came under my notice 554
within recent years. A white lady invited the late king of Tonga 643
and a couple of high chiefs to dinner. One of them was able to eat
freely in the presence of His Majesty, but the other, a robust young
man who might have been expected to own a healthy appetite, toyed
with his food in embarrassment. Afterwards he laughingly remonstrated with his hostess for her unkindness in setting such an excellent dinner before him in the presence of the king, where he was unable to do justice to it. This tabu against eating in the presence of a high chief may be overcome by retiring to a short distance and turning the back to the great lord.

Leaving the matter of eating and drinking to return to respect to 565
the person of superiors, we find that if a chief be sitting with some 554
utensil close behind him which the people about wish to use, their 576
only hope is that the chief will himself notice their predicament and tell someone to come and take what is required. Otherwise they

tioning the ailments of himself or of some other person, at last com- 784
ing to a point where description languishes for lack of an outright 576
753
term, the dreadfully blunt truth must be told, "Tabu to you," and 521
the exact condition of a leg or an eye is detailed. Matters which are 565
treated with great reticence by Europeans are discussed by mixed [171]
companies of Tongans with perfect freedom and complete absence
of embarrassment.

INSTALLATION OF TUI KANOKUBOLU

No important ceremony is conducted without kava drinking, and 276
in the preparation and serving of the kava is seen the flower of 574
Tongan ceremonialism. Usages vary in the two great houses of the 643
Tui Tonga and the Tui Kanokubolu. The modern consolidation of 643
the kingdom has confirmed the power of the Tui Kanokubolu, and
the office of Tui Tonga, although the higher in rank, has been abolished. In 1918 the present queen ascended the throne of her island [642]
kingdom with the title of Tui Kanokubolu, the title which was borne
by her predecessors in the sovereignty of this now constitutional (on
European lines) state. Besides a European crowning there was also 643
an installation by the old kava ceremony. This was anciently per- 644
formed at Kanokubolu, whence the title of Tui Kanokubolu (King of
Kanokubolu) is derived. Kubolu is the same word as the Samoan [173]
Upolu, and legend asserts that this line is descended from a Samoan
woman and a Tongan chief. Kano is a root found in words meaning
"flesh," "body." The late Dr. Moulton renders Kanokubolu as
"Heart of Upolu." In Kanokubolu the king used to be installed
with his back towards a certain tree, and the ancient requirements
have been met in modern practice by letting a piece of wood from
the traditionary tree into the back of the throne. The water for 643
brewing the kava was on this occasion brought by a great number of 644
runners from a supply a short distance away. So freely and with 276
574
such obvious intention was water spilt as to suggest a charm, but
good Tongan authority asserts that the water was spilt so that each
man might arrive at the bowl with but little, and that the whole proceeding might be marked by the maximum of bustle and activity on
the part of as great a number as possible to show the numbers and

zeal of the queen's followers. The strainers (bunches of wild hibis- 643
cus fibre) were provided by special groups whose prerogative it was, 644 276
and represented certain chiefly families. 574

During the ceremony three conventional speeches were delivered 644
by three chiefs belonging to the Tui Kanokubolu group, who each 537
before speaking slid forward without rising, with two little jerks, 565
returning in the same manner to his place when his speech was fin- [516]
ished. These speeches followed traditionary forms, and were ex-
hortations to the Tui Kanokubolu and the people to do their duty to
the Tui Tonga chiefs. The first referred to shell-fishing, the second
to the bonito fishing, and the third to the fruits of the soil.

An interesting feature of these ceremonies was a man belonging 644
to a family which is connected with Fiji, who was decked out like a 643
Fijian warrior. He preceded the royal procession to the ground by 784
about a hundred yards or so, crouching and running and looking 576
about like an outpost spying out the enemy. When the queen was [276]
seated he violated all tabus and rules of ordinary decency by taking [264]
up his station near her, passing freely behind or before her, smoking
whilst standing or lounging close beside her, and finally, when the
pig's liver which is customarily offered to the chief on such occasions
was put before the queen, he broke off a piece on the point of his
spear and ate it in her presence.

The sanctity of the great chiefs is well illustrated in an interesting 643
native manuscript which was made available to me by the kindness of 784
the Hon. W. Tungi and Mr. E. W. Gifford. In these notes the 192
special words applied to the highest chiefs, the Tamaha and the Tui
Tonga, are called the *tobutabu* insignia, the most sacred insignia.
Since the institution of monarchy on the European pattern the Tui
Tonga words are applied to the reigning sovereign.

FISHING

Industries have their own tabus. I have been told that formerly 784
a woman must not step over the green shoot of a sprouting yam, 824
though this is not now regarded, and young women of the present 241 562
generation whom I have questioned know nothing of it. It was also 784
tabu for anyone to step over a fishing net whilst it was being made. 226

276 *Kava,* which refers to the *piper methysticum*
[824] plant or to the drink made from its root, was
historically considered throughout Polynesia to be a
gift from the gods to the human race.[24] Thus the
ceremonial use of *kava* has always had religious
[782] significance. Traditionally in Tonga, *kava* was
frequently presented to the gods as an offering, or
to a chief on every formal occasion; it was also
imbibed in a solemn *kava* ritual at all ceremonies
(e.g. weddings, funerals, appointments to offices,
presentations of titles, etc.)[25]

[574] A formal *kava* ceremony in Tonga today, as of

276 long ago, features circular seating of the participants
574 (predominantly men) in a prescribed order, with the
person of highest rank at the head of the *kava* circle
and directly opposite the *kava* bowl; other positions
in the circle and the order of being served are
[178] reflective of each man's status. Informal *kava*
[565] drinking gatherings, which require no particular
[517] seating arrangement or ceremonial ritual, have
become increasingly popular over the years under
the less stratified, modern social system which has
evolved, and are, in fact, a favorite pastime in Tonga
at present. [p. 46-C]

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(4) A small *kava* ceremony during the construction of the new Wesleyan Church at 'Ohonua, 'Eua in early 1974. (Photo below)

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(4) Ko he faikava eni (ta 'i lalo) 'i 'Ohonua, 'Eua, lolotonga e langa 'o e falelotu Uesiliana fo'ou ai. Na'e fai e ta ni 'i he konga kimu'a 'o e 1974.

4

[p.48]

539 King's allotment. There was such a large amount of food and gifts that it almost covered the whole town of Mu'a. The King's people were amazed at what they saw, and they realized that it all had been done by some supernatural power.

Fataimoeloa then made a *vākai* (garment used on special occasions) for Sisimataela'a and she put the *kie tonga* that she had made earlier on top of the *vākai*.

[585] From that time on, the *kie tonga*^ has been worn on top of the wedding *vala*.

Thus at this wedding, the *koloa* and *'umu* of the groom's party were far greater than those of the bride's people. When Sisimataela'a's people brought their offerings, the *Tu'i Tonga* told them, "After you have put your *'umu* and *koloa* in place, you may all come and sit in the *'alofi* (ceremonial *kava* circle usually reserved for chiefs)."

[574] That is why even now, the descendants of these people can sit in the *'alofi* after they have made their presentations. They were given this privilege because they were considered to be supernatural beings.

When all the wedding ceremonies were over, Sisimataela'a took the packet *Mala* and opened it. There came at once a strong wind which cleared the town of all the rubbish left over from the festivities. It also took away the *falehau*; but the people whom *Monu* had brought were left to care for Sisimataela'a.

And so Sisimataela'a and Fatafehi lived happily at Olotele. In time, Fatafehi had a beautiful baby boy, and they named the baby Fakatou'io, which means "yes to both." The name was given to the child because if anyone asked, "Is he a god?" the answer would be

[p. 36-A] ^[i.e., a fine mat--Analyst.]

men of enterprise who use a *pa* trap for catching fish sometimes sell their 621
catch to the villagers or to the people of Mu'a, the ancient capital of the 226
Kingdom lying 3 miles south of Nukuleka. 432

Eiki Tevita Leka

The high chief of Nukuleka is Tevita Leka, a *matapule* of the present 622
Queen. His family have been sailors of the Tui Tonga for generations. 173
There is a story about his ancestor. Long ago, a daughter of the Tui [643]
Tonga became pregnant, but did not disclose her lover's name. Getting [644]
angry, the Tui Tonga was going to kill her, when Haavea Leka, a *matapule* of Ha'afeva island in Haapai, came in and asked permission to take her with him to his own island. On departing, Haave asked the Tui Tonga as a special favour to name the baby Leka and make him *toutai*, a sailor, of the Tui Tonga, if the baby should be a boy. The Tui Tonga later called the boy Leka back to Hu'a and made him a chief sailor of the *kalia*, a double canoe, named Lomupeau.

The genealogical distance between this first Leka and the present one is not clear, although Tevita Leka can identify six generations before
him. Many years ago, the Tui Tonga ordered Leka to reside in this [643]
village which was formerly called Nuku. The messenger from the Tui Tonga to Leka often lost his way, for there were a number of places
named Nuku in Tonga. The name Nukuleka was then given to avoid the [103]
confusion.

Today Leka lives in the same way as an ordinary villager, working 622
his own *api tukuhau* of 8¼ acres, and sleeping in a house thatched with [511]
plaited coconut leaves. But he is of the highest rank among the villagers [841]
and none is able to take a seat above him. Even in a church a chair is [342]
reserved for him beside the pulpit. As *matapule* of the Queen, he [554]
announces the order of the Queen to the villagers. He may ask the [796]
villagers to offer pigs, yams and *pola* (plaited coconut leaves used as a 622
food tray) piled with food cooked in the earth oven, on special occasions 644
like the birthday of the Queen or the two princes or on the feast to an [565]
honoured guest. Sometimes he visits the palace in the capital to serve [651]
the guest of the Queen. When the Queen visits other islands of the Kingdom, he may follow her as his ancestor did. But his most important 776
duty as a *matapule* is to attend the *fai kava* given by the Queen which is 574
usually held on her birthday in the palace or in the open space in front 644
of the palace. The order of drinking *kava* is as follows; the Queen, 622
Lauaki, Motua paka, Noble Nuku, Noble Luani and Tevita Leka.[7] 565

In the village life Leka has a special role in catching the *ika faka* 622
fonua, literally 'the fish of the village". The *ika faka fonua* of Nukuleka 226
is the *matai*, a hammer-headed shark, that comes near the coast from October to March. If the *matai* does not appear in this season, Leka [782]
goes to the graveyard to offer *kava* roots and to pray to his ancestor. This prayer will be heard without fail. Anyone who sees a *matai* out to sea calls *"Matai, Matai!"* when all the villagers gather on the beach, and men both young and old sail out with sticks and paddles in their hands. As soon as Leka hears the call of *matai* he hurries to his home. While they

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[7] This seat-ordering which Leka indicated is not different from the *kava* ring cited by Collocott. Collocott 1927: 28.

MACHIKO AOYAGI

If a man attends church service regularly and keeps on doing good, 795
he will be allowed to be called *lotu fefui* (catechumen), and if he can keep 554
on having a good record a few years more, he will be elevated to the
status of *malanga*. A few excellent men among the *malanga* may be
promoted to *faifekau* by the church president.(14) It is a great honour
and much respected to become *malanga* or *faifekau*.

Fakaafe for the New Year

The last day of the year, it is said, is the most important day for 796
the Tongan. On this day, the members of the Free Wesleyan Church, the
Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga have *fakaafe*, a feast,
thanking God for the peace of the past year and praying for the happiness
of the coming year. Each *malanga* is invited to one *fakaafe* to say a
grace. After the feast, a *malanga* is presented with a bark cloth and a *sisi* 796
(ornamented girdle or waist band or festoon made of flowers and leaves) 574
by the host. It is a great honour for anyone to give *fakaafe* on this 292
occasion. This privilege is conferred upon him by the steward of the 554
church. In this village, eight men, (4, 6, 14, 16, 29 - steward, 30, 32, 34) 794
in the Free Wesleyan Church and four men (2, 18, 26, 27) in the Free
Church of Tonga have been privileged to give *fakaafe* for many years.
Some of their kinsmen who help to make *umu* (food cooked in an earth 252
oven) are then invited to share the joy of the feast. This occasion offers
us a good opportunity to observe kinship functioning. The details of
the feast are as follows:

TABLE 8 — *Fakaafe*

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Household number	Those who prepared food	Those who took a meal together	Food served
4	the members of his household only	32 (*malanga*), 8 and his wife, The household members.	4 pieces of yam, 3 of *kape* (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*), 20 of sweet potato, 12 fish, 1 pig, 2 chickens, etc.
6	his son and 12	30 (*malanga*), 5. The household members.	10 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 1 basket of sweet potato, some fish, 1 pig, 4 pounds of canned beef, 4 pounds of canned mutton etc.
14	two of his friends, the members of his household	28 (*malanga*), 20, a woman from another village.	6 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 20 of sweet potato, 12 fish, 1 pig, 3 chickens, 12 pounds of canned beef.

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14. Rank differentiation in the different churches varies a little.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

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TABLE 8 — *Fakaafe* (continued)

Household number	Those who prepared food	Those who took a meal together	Food served
16	24, 28, 23, 15, 22, 21's daughter's husband	22 (*malanga*), 4, 28, 23, 28's children, *24* & his wife, *15*, 5's brother, *21's daughter's husband*, husband's sisters, wife's sisters.	16 pieces of yam, 6 of *kape*, 20 of sweet potato, more than 20 fish, 4 pigs, 6 pounds of canned beef, etc.
29 steward	23's wife, his friends	5 (*malanga*), 8, 23's wife, wife's brother's son.	4 pieces of yam, a lot of sweet potato, 4 fish, 2 pigs, etc.
30	the members of his household, 31's wife.		
32	the members of his household only	The household members 29 (*malanga*), 34, 30's son, one friend.	6 pieces of yam, 1 of *kape*, 30 of sweet potato, 10 fish, 1 pig, etc.
34	1, 16, 5's son	6 (*malanga*), a couple of his friends. The household members.	5 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 40 of sweet potato, 20 fish, 1 pig, etc.
2	the members of his household only	7 (*malanga*), *33's wife 33's brother and his wife, 8 and his wife* (2's daughter), *9's daughter.*	4 pieces of yam, 4 of *kape*, 2 baskets of sweet potato, 1 fish, 1 pig, 1 chicken, 1 duck.
18	the members of his household only	*malanga* (next villager), 2, 27 and his wife, 25 (steward) and his wife, *19's wife.*	8 pieces of yam, 1 of *kape*, 6 big fish, 4 small fish, 2 pigs, etc.
26	31	18, 25, 27, 31.	8 pieces of yam, 8 fish, 1 pig, etc.

Note to Table:

Those italicised belong to different religious sects from the host.

MACHIKO AOYAGI

Those kinsmen who help and are invited vary according to the scale 796
of *fakaafe*. For example, 16 gave one of the biggest *fakaafe*. Those who 574
gathered for cooking on this occasion were his half brother (24), his 602
mother's half brother (28) with his son (23), his father's father's brother 612
(22), his wife's brother (15), and 21's daughter's husband, between
whom and 16 the relationship was not clear. They all belong to the Free [795]
Wesleyan Church except 15 and 21's daughter's husband, who are
Mormons. The villagers stress that the feast is offered to the God, not [776]
for themselves, and they know that the feast is under the prescription of
the church. The privilege of giving the feast is conferred by the steward, [794]
who also selects *malanga* to be invited, but those who help and attend it
are not necessarily the same sect members. In case of 2, a member of [795]
the Free Church of Tonga, he invited his mother's sister's sons with their
wives (33) and 9's daughter of twelve years old, all of whom are Catholic,
and his daughter with her husband (8), members of the Free Wesleyan
Church. He invited no one except *malanga* from his own church.
Mutual help among relatives is still found on such an occasion of religious [476]
character. Yet, this does not mean that those who participate are selected
on the basis of *famili* or *famili* organisation. There seems no particular
rule for selecting the participants.

On the last day of *uike lotu* (a prayer week in the beginning of the [782]
new year), Pualiki gave one of the biggest feasts in the name of his second
son. Eighteen pigs and more than twenty chickens were cooked for this
feast, and over twenty men helped the famil yin preparation. Pualiki was [476]
helped by one or two men each from 14, 10, 1 (his sons' households), 34,
18, 31 (his brothers' households), 7, 6, 20, 23 (the households of his
mother's relations); four men from 4 (the household of his father's
relation); three men from 9 (the household not related).

It is difficult from this list to determine which side of his relations [476]
helped him more.

Land Use

According to Tongan law, every male Tongan on reaching sixteen 423
years of age, is entitled to receive a grant of 8¼ acres as *api tukuhau* and [884]
1 rood 24 perches as *api kolo*. But the actual circumstance is not always
in accord with the law. Even in Nukuleka, which is the Government 423
Estate, only 21 men over sixteen years of age have *api tukuhau*, while 28 621
have not. Among the 28 men, there are those who are not married or,
even if married, are still living with their father or wife's father or elder
brother who have *api tukuhau* in the same households. The remaining
11 men out of the 28 keep nevertheless their own independent households.
The following are the relations from whom these 11 men borrow part of 423
api tukuhau for cultivating: father; mother (she has received it from her 426
second husband); mother's half brother; grandfather and his brothers; 621
father's mother's sister's son; the third cousin; wife's father; wife's mother;
wife's brother and her sister's husband; one who is not related; Catholic
Church.

It is evident that all except two men borrow the land from their 423
famili or wife's *famili*. *Famili* members should help each other. They 621
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KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

Grandparents and Grandchildren

602
603 No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren.
784 The latter may tóuch the head of the former and eat the balance of their
[264] food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate
to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

593 Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an out-
784 standing feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred
602 by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each
[291] other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they
[513] have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the
[516] sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not
[521] come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a
[764] funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase.
[264] They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and
must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used.
[516] When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They
[195] may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must
[521] reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such
topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the
brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversa-
[589] tion about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and
[764] funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may
[535] not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*.
[276] The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When
[571] one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may
[758] nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting,
one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

[264] Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother
to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between
the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the
[846] younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take
care of her.

604 *Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece*

602 Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*,
[601] the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On
the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece
as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (mehikitanga) and nephew and niece (fakafotu)

602
604 *Fakafotu* have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to
784 the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They
[276] may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a
[764] room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but
[601] will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

The father is privileged to choose the name giver for his children. 553
The first born baby, regardless of sex, is always named by the father's 602
relations, with a special preference to the father's sister, irrespective of 593
residence. Since the second and the subsequent children are inferior in 604
birth significanc to the first baby, the father may then grant a maternal
relative's desire to name a child.

VII — Weddings and Funerals

The rank of individuals among *famili* is emphasised on ceremonial 612
occasions such as weddings(21) and funerals. I will describe these ceremonial 554
procedures from the view-point of kinship behaviour. 585 764

A boy tells his love to a girl, and if she agrees, he will ask his parents' 128
consent. If they do, he or his father goes to an old man closely related to
him to ask his favour of becoming *matapule*. Then he with the boy 584
makes a formal visit, *faitohi*, to the girl's house, taking some *kava teletele* [276]
(big roots of *kava*). On *faitohi, matapule* tells her father that the boy [574]
eagerly wishes to marry the girl. When her father is ready to accept
their proposal, he consults with her elder brother or *ulu i famili* as soon
as possible. And if he agrees to the matter (and generally the *ulu i famili*
will not object), the people concerned confirm the girl's will. The
marriage is now arranged. The *kava teletele* brought by the *matapule* is [276]
prepared, around which the *matapule* and the girl's parents sit to drink. [574]
The first cup of kava is taken to the *ulu i famili* on the girl's side, the
second to the *matapule*, the third to anyone present. A few weeks later
after *faitohi* the wedding takes place.

In the afternoon of the day before the wedding-day, the boy's father 585
cooks *umu* and roast pigs to be given to the girl's family. At the sunset, [252]
the girl dresses up in formal wear such as *fihu, kei* (both, a kind of mat) [292]
and *ngatu* (bark cloth). Inside her house is nicely arranged, bark cloths [352]
and mats over the floor. Then the boy in formal dress comes with his [292]
followers. The *fakalelea mali* begins now. The bride and the groom 585
sit respectively on the laps of their *fa'e tangata*. Sometimes *fakafeangai*, 276
attendants, of the bride and the groom may sit beside them. On this 574
occasion the first *kava* cup is taken by the bride,(22) then by the groom.
If they do not want to drink, the *fakafeangai* may drink it in place of
them. Drinking *kava*, and eating *fono* (*kava* relish, such as bread, pork, [262]
and puddings of various kinds, etc.), they spend the time cheerfully
chatting until next morning. When *faikava* is nearly over, the bridegroom
and his followers take off their clothes to give them to the bride and her
family. Through excess of joy, sometimes, they strip themselves of even
their trousers and shirts. The bride's people bring bark cloths and clothes
to cover them. The bride also takes off her dress to give to the partner.

On the morning of the wedding, they go to the town for registration. 585
Usually they hire two motor cars which they decorate with *kie*. The bride
and the bridegroom ride separately with each of their *fa'e tangata*. Other

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21. Collocott 1928: 121-4., Beaglehole 1941: 91-98., Koch 1955: 75-81.
22. Collocott writes that the bride who is the chief of this occasion takes the third cup, that is the chief cup. A middle-aged woman told me that the first cup was the chief one.

585 relations and friends follow them in motor lorries. Having secured the
civil marriage licence from the office, they proceed to the church where
the religious ceremony is performed by the pastor. This ceremony should
be performed within two weeks after registration at the office. Other-
[435] wise, the civil marriage licence will be declared invalid. The registration
fee of 6 shillings is paid customarily by the bridegroom's family. More-
over, they pay 8 shillings in case of the Free Wesleyan Church and 2
shillings in other churches, but the fee is free in the Catholic Church.
Parents of the new couple stay at each of their homes, making *umu* for
the feast, *katoanga mali* which is to be held in this afternoon. On coming
back to the village, the new couple rest at their own house for a while
to change their clothes. Then the bride proceeds to the place of *katoanga*
mali with her attendants who carry pigs, foods cooked in *umu*, bark cloths,
mats and so forth. On her way the bridegroom may await her to march
together to the banquet place. *Katoanga mali* is usually given at the
house of the bridegroom or one of his relations. There mats and bark
cloths have been already piled high. On the top of this piled bark cloth,
the *fa'e tangata* sits down, on whose lap the bride takes a seat. Another
fa'e tangata may sit in front of her to keep her feet up. The groom like-
585 wise sits on his *fa'e tangata*'s lap. *Faikava* begins now. The bridegroom
276 who takes off his long clothes to make *kava*, serves round the *kava* cup
574 following the order called by the *matapule*. Then the largest pig (*puaka*
264 *toho*) is cut and the dorsal part is laid in front of the bride. Suddenly
her father's sister or her daughter hits it, calling the name of a certain
person. The nominee is entitled to eat it. This *faikava* does not last for
a long time.

585 The things to be exchanged between the bride and groom's people
are called *koloa*, which consists of bark cloth, mats, *kato alu* (basket made
of *alu*), *kali hahapo* (a wooden pillow) and *kali toloni* (a wooden
pillow). The *koloa* is the same for men and women, except *kali hahapo*
and *kali toloni* which are not usually included in the *koloa* from the men.

After *katoanga mali* is over, the foods left over are divided by the
two families. The bride's people go back to their home, leaving her
behind alone. In the evening, her mother visits his house to have bark
cloth and mats ready for making the bed for the bridal night.

For an observer who would like to collect the data from both sides of
the couple, a marriage with both partners from the same villages would
be the best to observe. Unfortunately in Nukuleka, a small village, intra-
[101] village marriage occurs seldom. Since I was able to know a better
example of an intra-village marriage in Longoteme village, a much larger
village, of the same island, I would like to have it described here for
[184] better understanding the kinship behaviour connected with it. Longoteme
is not significantly different from Nukuleka in the custom of marriage.

584 A boy (S) and a girl (K) were born in Longoteme. One day S told
587 his parents about his wish to marry K, but they were opposed to the
match because they thought that he was too young to marry and his
elder brother had not married yet. S was nineteen years old and K
sixteen at that time. S did not give up his idea, asking his younger sister
to support him. At last she succeeded in persuading the parents for her
brother.

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brother. S asked a man (P) of next door as *matapule,* who was his 584
father's father's brother's son. On the Friday evening, P with S went to
K's house for *faitohi,* taking *kava teletele* and a can of biscuits which was
prepared by S's mother. K's father had expected their coming and told
that it depends on K's wishes. He called his classificatory brother T to
his house and explained the proposal. T also replied that she might do
as she pleased. Then K was called and asked her own wishes. She was
affirmative. Sitting at the corner of the house, S had been keeping silence
all the time. Then *faikava* started with *kava teletele* brought by *matapule* 584
P. *Kava* was prepared by K. Her parents, her sister, her *ulu i* 276
famili T, and *matapule* P attended the *faikava.* The cup was offered to 574
her *ulu i famili,* then to the *matapule.* During *kava* they talked and
settled several things. They decided not to exchange *koloa* between the
two families, but to give them to the young couple, and so on. The date
for the wedding had been already chosen by S and K on next Wednesday.

On Tuesday evening S's father made *umu* and brought it with fifty 585
loaves of bread to K's house. Afterwards, S proceeded with many of
his relations and friends to this house. His parents, who did not
accompany him, came to the banquet place just to peep into the inside of
the house and soon went back. Of course, the brothers of the bride as
well as the sisters of the groom were not allowed to join the meeting.
Kava was made by a girl, one of the groom's relatives. The bride was 585
seated on the lap of her mother's brother, Sona, who came from the next 276
village. The groom sat on the lap of his mother's mother's brother's son, 574
Ta. The first cup went to the bride and the next for the groom, but the
order of the subsequent cups was not remembered. The arrangement of
the seats was not fixed. A number of relations and friends sat round the
outside of the house, drinking *kava,* singing and dancing. The next morning 585
after a sleepless yet joyous night the groom and Ta took off their
clothes, *ngafi ngafi* and *fihu,* and gave them to the bride. On the other
hand, the bride and Sona gave their dresses, *fihu* and bark cloth to the
groom. About noon, the party marched to Nuku'alofa for the registration,
riding on two motor cars and motor lorries covered with *fihu.* The
bride with her *fa'e tangata* and the groom with his father's elder brother,
So. On their way back to the home village the newly married couple
rode together in the same car. The fee for those cars and lorries was
paid half and half by the fathers of the couple.

In the afternoon *katoanga mali* was held at So's place. The groom's 585
father made *umu* with many pigs including one *puaka toho,* most of 252
which were prepared by himself, but a few were offered by T and P
(*matapule faitohi*). The bride's father also made *umu,* cooking one
puaka toho, one *puaka hula* (a larger pig), and few *puaka haano* (a small
pig), all of which were prepared by himself. On the *faikava* at *katoanga* 585
mali T, who was a very old man and *ulu i famili* of the bridegroom's 276
father, acted as *matapule* to direct the order of *kava* cup. (Fig. 5). The 574
young couple sat on the laps of the same person as in the *fakalelea mali.*
The first *kava* cup went to the bride, the second to a man, her relative.
An elder sister of her father hit the *tua,* dorsal part, of *puaka toho* and
got it for herself.

bride's mother to share the pleasure with. She was also very much 585
pleased and gave another bark cloth to her daughter. The young couple 591
had been staying at his parents' house until they built their own hut in
the *api kolo* of his father's a few years later. Her parents eagerly wanted 844
to bring her back for her first delivery. The first son was born under [591]
her parental roof and the new mother spent there about three months for
her recuperation. On the day of its birth, her father made *umu*, includ- [603]
ing one chicken and one pig; her mother gave the baby two mats (*fala* [431]
paongo and *fala tofua*) and two sheets of bark cloth (ten *langanga* and
five *langanga*); the husband's mother gave some napkins, mosquito net
and cloth.

Funerals

When a husband dies, his wife, mother or brothers wash his body 764
immediately. If the dead person is a women, her mother, sisters or 593
mother's sisters undertake this task, and her husband may help them. [604]
Children may touch their mother, but not their father. After they rub 764
the corpse with candle nut oil, they put on its clothes. Nowadays, a
white shirt is used as an inner wear, and it is wrapped round with bark
cloth called *vala lotu*, for which any kind of new bark cloth is used. Its
size is not uniform; four *langanga* is enough for a child and five to eight
langanga for an adult. This is prepared generally by those women to
whom the dead stands in a near relation, namely his wife, mother,
mother's sister and so on. Some bark cloths and mats are piled in the
middle of the house, on which the corpse wrapped with *valu lotu* is laid.
They cover the corpse again with *ngafingafi* and *kie* which is called *feta'u*.
Instead of these mats a piece of white silk may be used now as a covering
of a corpse.

Then, they send for a steward to lead prayer. Two or three *fahu*, [794]
that is *ilamutu*, of the dead, regardless of sex, takes seats close to the head [792]
of the dead. The seat-ordering among these *fahu* does not seem to be
strict. The family members and relations of the dead sit inside the room; [593]
when the dead is a man his children and sisters are excluded from the
room, and her brothers are excluded when a woman dies. After the
steward finishes his prayer, people express their condolence by turns,
weeping and kissing. The near relations offer *fihu* and bark cloth, and
the remote relations, friends and villagers deck the centre of the room
with a piece of cloth and garland. On this special occasion, the children
and sisters may kiss the corpse to bid farewell to the dead man, and the
brothers may do the same to the dead sister. As soon as they bid farewell,
they should leave the room and rest in a temporarily built shelter. All
day long people mourn and neighbours stand outdoors and sign hymns.
Liongi, that is younger brothers, *fa'e tangata* and those who are inferior
in rank to the dead person, have a lot of miscellaneous works to do, for
example boiling water and serving *topai* (a kind of dumpling in soup)
and tea to visitors. It is the *ulu i famili* who assigns them duties. Mean- 764
while, one of the *liongi* prepares *kava*, and men drink until next morn- 276
ing. The first cup should go to T. Leka, and the subsequent cup may go 574
to any present *matapule*.

764 The next morning, they take off the white cloth and *feta'u*, and wrap the corpse again with bark cloth of *launima*, named *kumifonua*. Further, they wrap it with all the mats and bark cloths they can afford and all the gifts the callers have given. When a coffin is not used, the corpse is wrapped with *kumifonua*, is put on a ladder shaped frame, (*fata*), and is then carried by men, six or eight consisting of distant relatives, to the graveyard. If the dead person is a man, a *fata* can not be carried by his younger brother and children, and if a woman, her brother can not touch it. Close relations would also not carry it. While others sing hymns, neighbours, friends and remote relations dig the grave and carry up white sand from the beach. When the funeral reaches the graveyard, the priest gives an oration. Then the coffin is lowered into the grave by remote male relations. The grave is filled with sand by those present. After burial, the *ulu i famili* makes a brief speech, expressing his thanks to the people at the cemetery and informing them of the feast if one is held.(24)
For the funeral feast, *pulua, fa'e tangata* and the sons of the deceased
make enough *umu* to distribute one basket of food to each attendant.
[276] Usually the last basket is presented to the *matapule*. Sometimes *pulua*
[574] is held on the same or sometimes on the following day of the funeral,
when *kava* drinking is occasionally arranged.

Years ago, *liongi* cut their hair to show their grief and even now
765 they do not dare to comb their hair for the same reason.(25) The family
[302] and close relations sit by the beautifully decorated grave for at least ten
[789] days. By this time, the *tapu* between brother and sister will be lifted,
[593] and the sister may tend the grave of her brother. Relations and villagers
[602] wear a big ragged mat for mourning, called *taovala putu* for ten days, but
[292] the family members of the deceased wearing it for nearly one year. For
these ten days, enjoying movies or beating bark cloth are not allowed for
the whole village. At the end of this period merry-making may be held
and the relatives from a distance return to their home village .

VIII — Some Concluding Observations on Ramification and Stratification

In the previous chapters, I have tried to describe the organisation
121 and behaviour of kinship found in a Tongan village today. As I mentioned at the outset of this paper, I do not intend to analyse it theoretically, but to depict it as descriptively as possible. My reason for choosing the latter approach is mainly because there is a scarcity of information.
114 'Tongan Society', by E. W. Gifford, which is quoted in many papers, is of course an excellent study, but there are some descriptions in his book that we are unable to find in a Tongan village today. I suppose this is because he collected his data mainly from the noble class, and also it is thirty years since his field survey.

613 The most important difference, it appears to me, is in regard to
114 *ha'a*. I have been unable to find it in Nukuleka village. Referring to
565 commoners, Gifford pointed out that "Some commoners are not aware

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24. According to Beaglehole *ha'a tufunga*, undertaker, presides over everything in the graveyard. But the villagers say that *ha'a tufunga* will be employed only in case of the chief's death.
25. Koch 1955: 86.

554 differentiated from every other brother does not exist in fact in the village.
621 But such rank is limited to the relative rank, strictly speaking, between
two persons concerned, and is not the absolute rank of the triangle of
hierarchy.

In my opinion, it looks both theoretically and practically impossible to integrate all the people of the community into the ramified structure for the following reasons:

554 (a) Generally, the union of a man and woman is not stable. It is
621 not unusual for a man to have children by several women and for a
586 woman to have children by several men. Consequently, an individual
587 may have a number of half siblings who share the same mother and at
593 the same time who share the same father. It must be difficult to integrate
all the siblings of the community as a whole in one alignment from the
highest to the lowest in accordance with the order of their birth.

554 (b) An individual often has a double relationship to another in-
621 dividual. For example, if 28 traces through his mother, the mother of
602 24 and 16 is his sister, but if 28 traces through his father, she is his father's
sister's son's daughter (see Fig. 3). In this case he may probably behave
towards her according to the direct relationship as brother and sister. But
what is the criterion to integrate all the villagers in one hierarchy for they
may have a double or triple relationship with one another?

554 (c) The sister is superior to the brother and her children to his
621 children. Consequently, a man (A) who marries a woman rises auto-
593 matically into a higher position than her brother (B). On the other
607 hand A can not hold up his head before a man (C) who marries A's
sister. Then in the relationship among these three men, C, is in the
highest rank while B is in the lowest. But it may well be that B is the
elder brother of C, or B's mother is C's father's sister. For these reasons
it is difficult to stratify all the descendants of one person into a single
ramified system.

554 Anyway, there are three principles in regard to ranking; the elder
593 brother is higher than the younger brother; the sister is higher than the
brother; and the husband is higher than the wife. These principles
may sometimes offset each other. So each individual has a double rank;
this one is higher than that, but this may be lower than that. Even if
a person is the direct descendant in the senior line of a common ancestor,
his rank is not always paramount. At the same time a descendant from
622 a remote collateral is not necessarily the lowest. Leka occupies, in fact,
621 the supreme position in the community. This seems to be so because he is
554 *eiki* (chief) and *matapule* of the Queen, not because he belongs to the
428 senior line of the kinship; he is the second son of his father Tevita Leka,
848 whose first son may be an illegitimate son, and this first son's daughter's
sons are 16 and 24.

554 As described in the latter half of this paper, the relative rank of
593 individuals is quite important in Tongan family. The behaviours of kin
602 are precisely defined, and expressed overtly on the ceremonial occasions.
585 In *kava* drinking at weddings, the first and the second cups were taken by
276 particular persons, but no one remembers who got the subsequent cups.
574

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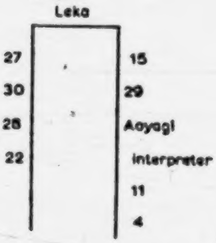
This fact suggests partly that there is no system into which all the people 554
who were gathering at the circle recognised. 593

While I was staying there, I happened to be invited to a feast at the 602 276
end of the year given by the second son of Pualiki, at which most of the 585
villagers were present. The following Fig. 6 is the table showing the 574
seat arrangement. People took their seats around the long *pola* (food 574
tray made of coconut leaves). Leka sat in the front of the *pola*, on either [123]
side of which the officers of the church sat down. The other people, I 574
was told, might sit down freely anywhere. Among the ten persons, namely 576
Leka and the church officers, 27 belongs to the Free Church of Tonga, 795
15 to the Mormons, 11 to the Catholic, and all the rest are the members 554

FIG.6 Seat-ordering at a fakaafe



[123]

of the Free Wesleyan Church. The speech at this feast was given by 554 574
Leka, first, followed by 15 (*matapule* of the Queen), 4, Pualiki's wife, 30 576
(town officer) and 29. In spite of the fact that 11 is the elder brother of [537]
15 and 15's *ulu i famili*, his seat is lower in the seat order than 15's. It
is also incomprehensible why 11 who is a steward of the Catholic Church
took such a low seat compared with the *malanga* of the other churches who
were invited to the places of honour.(30) From 30 to 32 are all *malanga* [561]
of the Free Wesleyan Church who sat in order of the age. Whereas 29
is young, he is highly respected by people as a steward of the Free
Wesleyan Church and always occupies a seat next to Leka in the meeting
of church members.(31) In short, the internal rank of the villagers based 574
on the kinship structure was not reflected in the feast at all, but the 554
rank in the church such as *malanga* and *faifekau* was highly esteemed, 621
and one's age or administrative or honourable status such as town officer 794
or *matapule* were considered among those *malanga* and *faifefau*.(32) It is 561 [796]
easy to see that the *malanga* of the church took the places of honour
because this feast which was given as a church function was dedicated to
God. Nevertheless, this was the only occasion in which an outsider could
know the rank of the villagers.

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30. Professor Newell suggested to me that the antagonism between Catholics and Protestants may explain this in part. [798]
31. For instance, in *fakaafe* hosted by no. 28 on the day of Christmas nos. 6 (Leka), 5 and 30 (town officer) seated along one side of the *pola* in this order. On the other side of it no. 29 seated facing No. 6.
32. For example, in *fono*, village council, the villagers gather to sit choosing any place around the town officer who conveys the Government instruction. [623]

awkwardness in my joining men in their kava-drinking, 123
despite their entirely proper invitations that I do so, for I was aware that their normal discussions were set aside while I was there. I therefore participated less than I might have in this area of activity. I also could not participate freely in the women's talk of matters relating to sex and reproduction, because of my status as an unmarried woman. On the other hand, the fact of my [574]
being a woman made it easy for me to adopt the practice of dropping by at people's homes and casually sitting around while members of the household went on with their activities, for this is something that Tongan women do all the time. My relative youth also made it reasonable and not too undignified for me to spend time playing with the children, which I found very comforting when I felt lonely, and to join in many of the activities of the young adults.

Besides observation and participation, much of my 125
village data was gathered in the course of a detailed house-to-house survey that I began after I had been in Motulahi for three months. In the course of the survey I was able to collect extensive biographical data for almost every individual in the village, filling in many gaps in my information about the people and using the survey questions as a springboard for discussion of other matters.

of an *'api* is further enlivened by the children and young people, who spend much of the time outside during the day. 351

Besides a lively appearance, there is generally a lively (although not noisy) daytime sound in the village. In the mornings, while children are at school, one hears the rhythmic tones of wood striking wood as women beat the bark of the paper mulberry, making tapa cloth. And in the afternoons there are shouts of excitement as the young people play basketball. In the late afternoon, the sound of unaccompanied singing can be heard from one or other of the churches. But after about nine in the evening, most people are indoors, at home or visiting neighbors, and village sounds are muted. 512 [287] [526] [533] [794] [574]

The boundaries of a number of *'api* are marked by a fence, whose main purpose is not to serve as a boundary marker but to keep own livestock in and other livestock out. Fences, therefore, are intended to be sturdy and are made of wooden palings or of chicken wire. Some of those close to the main road, which serve decorative as well as protective purposes, are ornamented by shrubbery. Houses along the main road have a preferred position, providing ease of access, the opportunity for display, and convenience in monitoring the comings and goings of others. Houses further back are reached by narrow trails along which one must pick one's way with care, or by wider unpaved paths that soon become muddy bogs when it rains. 351 417 351 361 [554] [487]

592 484 574 [602] Tongans do not speak in terms of permanence of household membership. Instead, they recognize different kinds of what we would call "temporary residence". They may speak of people as being not merely visiting--they would say this of a young relative from another island who has come to live in the household for a few years so that he can attend school on the main island. Or they may say that a particular person or family group is visiting for only a short time. Some people, and particularly young adults, come visiting *'eva pē* ('just going about'--a term also applied to taking a short stroll with [584] [626] no overt destination). It is in the course of *'eva pē* visiting that many Tongans meet the person they marry, for outside the home village a young woman has more freedom and a young man more license to pursue a courtship. In other cases, people may come visiting because they have some matter to attend to in Motulahi or elsewhere on Tongatapu. They might have come to be in attendance at a birth, for example, or to attend a funeral, or to accompany children to Tongatapu at the start of the school year, or to bring items for sale.

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holds in cases where more than one household occupies the same town allotment, or where one household has members living in structures spread out over more than one allotment. Even so, there are occasional cases where household membership is not clear. (See the case of Matiu, described later in the chapter.)

Visitors are easily assimilated into the household. 592 Room is found for them to lay down the mattress they bring 574 with them, and they take up the domestic chores and activities appropriate to their sex and age. Most visitors [576] bring with them a few baskets of food, as a matter of courtesy, and their relatives send occasional baskets from home if they stay on for a while. Some visits stretch into months or even years. The point at which it ceases to be only a visit is when the people involved no longer speak of it as such; when the visitors no longer feel that they might return to their previous place of residence and those with whom they are living accept this.

Whole family groups may be less than permanent 592 members of multiple-family-group households, although to 591 classify any particular family group as being only tempo- 596 rarily part of a household could be a distortion of the data. For example, a daughter and her children might be living in the same household as her parents' family group, with the father of the daughter's children not being a member of the household. This could occur either because he is dead, because he and she are divorced, separated, or were never married, or because he must live elsewhere to earn a living on the land or in some job while his wife and children live where the children can

592 members to make adequate contributions of goods and labor
511 on a wide range of ceremonial occcasions that occur at
476
621 irregular intervals throughout the year such as feasts,
funerals, and weddings. There is a class of goods called
koloa ('treasure') that come into play only on ceremonial
[285] occasions. These consist mainly of finely-woven mats of
[287] various kinds (*kie*, *fihu*, and *ngafingafi*) and decorated
[554] tapa-cloth (*ngatu*). *Koloa*, which is amassed through
[431] manufacture by women of the household or through previous
ceremonial prestation to members of the household, is
used to express status relations between giver and
receiver on occasions such as weddings and funerals.[7]
[431] If one does not have *koloa*, one cannot participate in
ceremonial exchanges, and not to do so is to be outside
the system of rights and obligations that are the foundation
592 of *anga faka-Tonga* ('the Tongan way'). Similarly,
621 to participate in the community, a household must give
476
574 feasts and contribute to others' feasts. Contributions
[262] consist mainly of appropriate livestock or other foods:
pigs, chickens, lobsters, tinned beef, yams, watermelon
--in sum, feast food. To some extent, services such as
assistance in preparing and serving the feast can be

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[7] For descriptions of ceremonial exchanges in Tonga, see Aoyagi (1966: 167-172), Beaglehole (1941: 91-98), and Collocott (1923: 221-225).

592 substituted for contributions of food. Especially close 621 476 friends and relatives will usually provide both goods and 574 services.

574 It may be useful at this point to describe what is involved in hosting a feast, for the magnitude of the undertaking must be appreciated in order to understand the significance of feasting in the organization of [285] Tongan society at the local level. Feasts are served on pola, mats of woven coconut-leaf about eight feet long by three feet wide, at which eight to ten people can be seated. A feast is described in terms of the number of pola, which gives an indication of the number of guests, and evaluated in terms of the number and size of the pigs presented, for this is the criterion of lavishness. Most feasts in Motulahi had from two to four pola. An adequate pola at a feast in Motulahi would generally include three or four suckling pigs and about the same number of large yams and bundles of lū (a cooked food).[8]

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[648] [8] The most lavish pola that I ever saw was one of five prepared by the people of Motulahi for the national feast held on the occasion of the visit to Tonga of Queen Elizabeth of England (see Chapter VI). That pola comprised the following items, piled to a height of about twenty inches: 9 spit-roasted suckling pigs, ranged in two rows down the middle of the pola, tail to snout; 13 large pieces of pork from one big pig, cooked by steaming in an earth oven; 9 bundles of lū kapa pulu (lū is a kind of steamed food, prepared by wrapping about ½-lb. of filling, in this case tinned corned beef--kapa pulu--in taro leaves

574 These amounts reflect the relatively high standard of
511 living on Tongatapu in 1969-70; people living on the
more remote islands, with restricted sources of income,
would have less lavish pola.

592 According to my estimate, there were only five
574 households in Motulahi that could afford to sponsor a
476 feast without assistance. Yet almost every household in
[511] the village manages to host at least one feast every
[431] twelve to fifteen months. They are able to do so because
they are assisted by contributions of food and labor from
the households of a wide range of relatives and other

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[648] --the lū, and placing this in an outer wrapping of banana leaves and steaming it in the earth oven); 5 bundles of lū pulu māsima (lū with salt beef) and 8 bundles of other lū with assorted fillings of various seafoods; 3 large fish and 2 medium-sized fish (steamed whole in the earth oven), and 4 small fish (roasted over an open fire); 8 boiled chickens and 12 lobsters, also boiled; 23 bundles of faikakai (a steamed sweet pudding), 10 large yams and 11 large sweet potatoes, all cooked in the earth oven; and, to complete the pola, 10 drinking coconuts, 10 small dishes of various cold meats and fish, ripe plantains and bananas stuck wherever there was a gap too small to be filled with anything larger, 1½ 20-lb. watermelons cut in large serving slices, and three plates of sliced store-bought fruit cake. The only standard feast food not presented on the pola was bowls of fruit salad with icecream (omitted because the icecream would have melted before it could be served). It took eight men, each accustomed to carrying 50-lb. bunches of bananas, to carry the pola in triumph, shoulder high, to the waiting truck that would transport it to the feast site in Nuku'alofa. The pola was so magnificent that it was selected for presentation as one of five pola placed in the Royal enclosure The other pola in the Royal enclosure were prepared in the Palace kitchens.

592 574 476 [431] associates whom they have assisted in the past. This is not to say that the household is considered to be the unit that makes the contributions, for contributions are viewed as coming from individuals. The household itself is the unit in feasting activities only when a member of the household is hosting the feast. Nevertheless, when a person makes contributions to a feast at another household, he does this with goods from the common pool of resources in his own household. The greater a household's participation as a contributor through the contributions of its members, the more assistance the household will receive when it comes time for a household member to act as host.

592 511 While a household is not expected to be self-sufficient when it comes to hosting a feast, it must be able, in one way or another, to provide for the other material needs of its members (i.e., everyday material requirements, periodic cash outlays, and the means of making adequate contributions on ceremonial occasions). To do so, however, the household must have the means of access either to the products of an agricultural allotment or to the income from some job, and preferably both. Without one or the other, no household in Tonga is viable (although it is true that there is less need for cash on the more remote islands, and less likelihood of access to a job away from Tongatapu).

[434] In 1970, 42 households in Motulahi had no source of

621 794 session for members of the church choir. In addition to these weekly-recurring activities, on the afternoon of the first Saturday of each month there is a discussion-group meeting for each of the three classes of adult members (men of the category of 'priest', men and youths who are not priests, and the members of the women's auxilliary), and about once a month on a Saturday evening there is a social evening (dancing, costume party, movie, or some other performance).

In the Free Wesleyan Church, there are church services for the entire congregation three times on Sundays (although few members of the congregation attend all three services), and services again on Monday afternoons and Tuesday and Friday mornings (see Table 20). On Wednesday afternoons there is a service for women only. And besides services, Sunday school, and choir practice, there are a number of other regularly-scheduled activities that take place on Sundays. About an hour before the mid-morning service, the men of the congregation in Motulahi gather informally at the home of the steward to drink kava and [276] [574] talk about current events. After the mid-morning service, the men who have the status of malanga (lay preacher) participate in a formal kava circle at the home of one of the members of the congregation.[5] This is the prelude to

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[5] Pratt (1922) gives a description of this activity which I found very similar to what I observed in 1969-70.

TABLE 20

Weekly-scheduled Activities of the Free Wesleyan Congregation, Motulahi 1970

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Day	Time	Activity
Sunday	5:00 a.m. - 6:00 a.m.	church service
	9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.	Sunday School
	10:00 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.	church service
	11:30 a.m. - 1:30 p.m.	kava circle, followed by congregational feast
	3:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.	church service
	4:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.	festive tea
	6:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	choir practice
Monday	5:00 a.m. - 6:00 a.m.	church service
Tuesday	5:00 a.m. - 6:00 a.m.	church service
Wednesday	4:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	women's service
Thursday	no weekly-scheduled activity	
Friday	5:00 a.m. - 6:00 a.m.	church service
Saturday	no weekly-scheduled activity	

Source: field notes.

621 the fakaafe Sāpate (Sabbath feast), at which the preacher
794 of the morning's sermon is the guest of honor. Following
[574] the feast there is a break for an hour or two, and then the congregation gathers again for the mid-afternoon service. After the mid-afternoon service, the adult male members of the congregation gather again at the home of another member of the congregation, where they are served fakaafe efiafi ('afternoon feast', i.e., a festive tea). Besides these weekly-recurring activities, there is a discussion session for adult members of the congregation that takes place about once a month. On these occasions, members of the congregation meet for about an hour before the Sunday afternoon service in groups of about fifteen people, men and women separately. Once a month, also, there is a special service that is held late on Sunday afternoon. On these occasions there is always some festive aspect to the service. For example, the Sunday School might put on a play, or there might be a joint service with a neighboring Free Wesleyan congregation, or a choir competition might be held. Throughout the year, also, there are other special events. There is a special service, for example, to mark the beginning of the school year, and another special service plus a feast for all members of the congregation, children as well as adults, to mark Mother's
[574] Day early in May. There is also a special service held on

621 794 New Year's Eve and a week of feasting in the first week of the new year.

[574] [574] The Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga have a weekly schedule of services similar to that of the Free Wesleyan Church, and a similar routine on Sundays but without a congregational feast each week. There is less emphasis on communal feasting in these denominations, possibly because the congregations are not large enough to [574] support such activities on a regular basis. However, they do have feasts and other special activities at certain times of the year, such as at Christmas, Easter, and New Year.

621 794 798 In contrast to the frequency and intensity of activity within each congregation, there are no inter-denominational events at the local level. In other words, the different congregations in the village do not interact with one another qua congregation. On the contrary, the mutual posture of the different congregations appears to be one of tolerant avoidance when it is not an attitude of studied indifference to the fact of the others' existence. While, on the national level, the various denominations are sometimes bitterly if mutedly antagonistic, there are few signs of competition between denominations at the local level. For example, the proselytizing activities of the Mormon and Free Wesleyan churches are never carried out

562 do not necessarily associate with members of their own 517 883 denomination; instead, they spend most of their leisure [526] time in the company of others of their age. During the winter football season they are fully engaged in the activities of the village football club, and in the summer they serve as cheering sections to the girls' [571] basketball teams. They also do a lot of *'eva pē* ('just going around') away from their home village, seeking scope for their courting activities.

562 885 Ordinarily, however, by his late twenties a young [582] man has married and begun to settle down. From then on, [794] the time that he spends outside his own household but away [276] from income-producing activities is almost entirely spent [574] in the company of other adult males of his congregation, often at a kava-drinking circle that meets at the home of 794 one of the group.[7] This is especially true of members of 562 574 276 Motulahi's Free Wesleyan congregation, which is a large enough congregation to sustain a kava group that meets almost daily at the home of the man who serves as steward 794 of the congregation. A man also prefers to cooperate in 562 476 economic activities beyond his own household with members of his own congregation (possibly because this provides a sanction for their acting in good faith). For example, I

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[7] Beaglehole gives an excellent account of kava activities in village life (1941: 112-123).

794 knew of five instances in Motulahi in 1969 in which men
562 476 became partners for a season of watermelon growing, and
in four cases they were members of the same congregation.
[464] Similarly, a senior member of the Roman Catholic
congregation, who owns one of the packing sheds in the
village, generally employs only members of his own
[602] congregation when he requires assistance. If these
[554] associates are also kinsmen, so much the better, for he
is then also gaining merit by being a patron to his
kinsmen and binding them to him; but the kin tie is not
794 essential. In contrast to this, women have a reverse
562 602 order of priorities in choosing associates. For example,
461 if a woman organizes a day of tapa-painting, women of her
fāmili will form the basis of the work party, supplemented
in some instances by non-kinswomen who are linked to her
as neighbors or as members of her congregation.

794 The emphasis on associating with men of one's own
562 congregation is due to the fact that the local congregation
554 is the major arena of prestige-acquisition for men. A man
who seeks to increase his standing in the village cannot
hope to do so without the participation and support of his
[574] fellow congregants. A feast giver, for example, must be
associated with respectable people who he can invite to his
feasts, so that he can gain the prestige that is to be
[574] derived from these displays. The higher the status of his

794 guests, the greater the honor that is reflected upon him.
562 Thus, Tongans' absorption with matters relating to church
554
[574] membership is closely linked with what is possibly the
[181] primary cultural theme in Tongan society, namely, the
process of continually re-ordering relationships of
relative rank.

794 In the enumeration of congregational activities, reference was made to classes of membership within the Mormon Church. The Wesleyan churches also put considerable emphasis on grades of membership. In the Free Wesleyan Church, young men and women become full members of the church at some point in their late teens or early twenties, after years of attendance at Sunday School and later participation in the young people's Methodist Christian Endeavor Society. The procedure is for them to ask a relative or some other adult to submit their request for admission to the grade of communicant (lotu fehu'i, 'enquiring prayer'). They are then appointed to junior membership in one of the discussion groups in the congregation. After some years, the leader of the group may inform the steward of the congregation that the person is ready to proceed to the highest grade of lay membership in the church. The steward then submits the person's name to the minister of the congregation and the minister registers the change of status with the Central Office of

794 562 difference to one's behavior as a member of the congregation beyond the fact that it is a valued status that [796] [574] signifies decency and full adult womanhood. But only men of lay preacher status--of whom there were 78 out of a total of 104 adult males in the congregation of the Free Wesleyan Church in Motulahi in 1970--may preach a sermon, and generally only a lay preacher may act as host at a 794 554 congregational feast. Both of these are status-enhancing activities, for the very fact of a public performance of this sort is implicit affirmation of the person's rectitude. Indeed, any situation in which a person has been appointed to act publicly as a special member of the congregation is status-enhancing. (Admittedly, some situations or occasions are more prestigious than others; thus, to deliver the sermon or host the feast on Christmas Day is more status-enhancing than to do so the Sunday before Christmas, and to be steward of the congregation is more prestigious than to be choirmaster or teach Sunday School.) [796] One of the indicators of whether a person is highly regarded beyond his own village is whether he has been asked to preach a sermon beyond the boundaries of his home congregation.

793 794 The minister of the congregation, generally a full-time pastor appointed to the congregation by the national governing body of the church, decides who will be asked

793 to prepare the sermon. He makes this determination in
794 consultation with the steward of the congregation, who is a member of the congregation elected to the position of steward on an annual basis by his fellow lay preachers in the congregation. The steward also makes up the annual roster of Sabbath and holy-day feast givers. He usually does this by himself, for a minister may know of the frequency and intensity of a person's participation in church services and other denominational activities--factors that are crucial in determining the roster of preachers, but is usually insufficiently acquainted with the members of the congregation to know their status in the village and what resources they can muster--factors that must be taken into account in determining the roster of feast-givers. (This is particularly true of the Free Wesleyan minister of Motulahi, who is resident in the neighboring village of Nukutau, but it is generally true in most Wesleyan congregations since one of the principles of Wesleyan organization is that ministers do not serve for more than a few years with any one congregation.)

794 The matching-up of feast-giver and preacher is one of the
574 more obvious areas in which the steward's social skill is crucial, for the preacher of the sermon that day is a guest of honor at the feast. In making up these rosters, therefore, the steward acts as monitor and arbiter of the

794 relative status of members of the congregation.

574 A feast-giver has the opportunity for a status-
794 enhancing display and for having people acknowledge his
574
554 status by the fact of their presence as guests at his feast. Nevertheless, there is no formal requirement to make a big display at a congregational feast; a feast can be as modest or as lavish as the feast-giver chooses or is able to make it. The extent of a person's involvement in these activities is to some extent dependent on the participation of his relatives and other associates. This, in turn, is partly a reflection of the person's position in the fāmili, and partly a reflection of the size of the fāmili, its members' wealth, and the general level of involvement of the fāmili in these status-enhancing activities. The greater the person's participation in the past as a contributor at the feasts of other people, the more assistance that person will receive when it comes time for him to act as host. Conversely, if he wishes to make a good display as a host, he must first incur obligations to himself through widespread and generous contributions to others. Feast-givers also have the option of inviting whom they choose, including members of different denominations and persons from other villages (although neither is very common at a congregational feast). Some feast-givers invite the entire corps of lay preachers

794 574 554 in their congregation--not necessarily all of whom choose to attend, however. Others, less interested in pursuing status through feasting or less able to do so, provide a smaller feast. This, in turn, affects who invites them. Thus, congregational feasts provide occasions for on-going exchanges between feast-givers and their guests, on the one hand, and the hosts and those who have contributed to their feasts, on the other. People adjust their exchanges as their strategies for social recognition and their material needs and resources change, and every feast provides a new opportunity for re-defining relationships.

Changing Denominational Affiliation

794 795 612 592 The avoidance of inter-denominational confrontation within the village, noted earlier, is possibly best understood as a tension-reducing accomodation to the fact that the various denominations not only separate the village into a number of different congregations, but quite often cut across *fāmili* affiliation and even household membership. (The phenomenon of denominational differences within the *fāmili* is illustrated in Figure 9, which depicts the denominational affiliation of the core members of two of the *fāmili* in Motulahi.) Where a household might be equally affiliated with more than one *fāmili* in the village, it will usually be affiliated with the *fāmili* whose members

794 are predominantly of their own denomination. If there is
795 no such choice, however, and members of different denominations
612 592 find themselves associated within the same *fāmili*,
then these people assist one another and make contributions
to one another's feasts, even if it is for a denomination
[574] other than their own. They may even be guests at such a
feast, and none of this is held to compromise their denominational
affiliation in any way. The same holds true
when members of a household belong to different denomintions.
Moreover, this is not a rare situation. There
were intra-household differences of denomination in
forty-three (30 percent) of the households in Motulahi in
1970, including differences in denominational affiliation
between parents and some of their married children in
fourteen out of fifty-one three-generational households.

794 Denominational diversity among kin arises in part
795 because switching to a different denomination is not
uncommon in Tonga. My data on this are incomplete, as I
[152] did not examine the phenomenon directly. What struck
[771] me was the seeming incongruity between the intensity
and apparent fervor of people's commitment to their own
denomination, on the one hand, and the equanimity with
which they appeared to view the fact of denominational
diversity in Tonga and their close kin being affiliated
with different denominations. That people switched deno-

794 to those who are Mormons or who have graduated from one
795 of the Mormon schools in Tonga. The most able students
873 are supported at the University of Hawaii. Others are
trained in a wide range of academic and technical
subjects at the Church College of Hawaii (now Brigham
[464] Young University - Hawaii). Graduates find the Church,
both in Tonga and elsewhere, to be a willing employer.
794 Finally, the Mormon Church is a primary avenue of
795 long-term emigration. Indeed, the majority of Tongans
167 who have emigrated to the United States mainland have
done so under the auspices of the Mormon Church. In
summary, membership in the Mormon Church opens up
prospects that are not available to most Tongans.

794 In addition to employment, educational and emigration
795 opportunities, membership in the Mormon Church
183 provides a justification for ceasing to follow certain
patterns of behavior that are associated with *anga faka-Tonga*
[574] ('Tongan custom'). Mormon congregations, for example,
do not have the feasts that are characteristic of the
Wesleyan churches. Thus members are relieved of the
material burdens and social obligations of congregational
feasting. Members of the Mormon Church also tend not to
[602] engage in communal feasting on other occasions. Indeed,
it is my impression that members of the Mormon Church are
more narrowly involved in kinship reciprocity than members

TABLE 5

Nature of Linkage Between Family Groups in Households of Two- and Three-Family Units* 592 596

Number of Family Units in the Household	Family Groups Related Through	Number of Households
Two-family-unit households (32 households)		
	Parent(s)-daughter tie	14
	Parent(s)-son tie	5
	Sister-sister tie	5
	Brother-brother tie	2
	Brother-sister tie	2
	Other kin tie	3
	Nonkin ties	1
Three-family-unit household (15 households)		
	Ties between family groups of brother-sister-parent(s)	6
	Ties between family groups of sisters and their parent(s)	3
	Ties between other combinations of kin	6

*The two households of more than three family units are not tabulated because of the complexity of the ties among the constituent family groups.

position that the study of social organization focuses on "that continuous set of operations in a field of social action which conduces to the control and combination of elements of action into a system by choice and limitation of their relations to any given ends" (1964:60). Membership in the household group in Tonga allows the individual or family group to have access to resources that provide for essential needs. As the means for satisfying these needs or the needs themselves change, there are shifts in household membership. This is the process that accounts for fluctuations in household composition. 592

Tongans do not speak in terms of permanence of household membership. Instead, they recognize different kinds of what we would call "temporary residence." They may speak of people as being not merely visiting—for example, a young relative from another island who has come to live in the household for a few years so that he can attend school on the main island. Or they may say that a particular person or 592 574 [602]

592

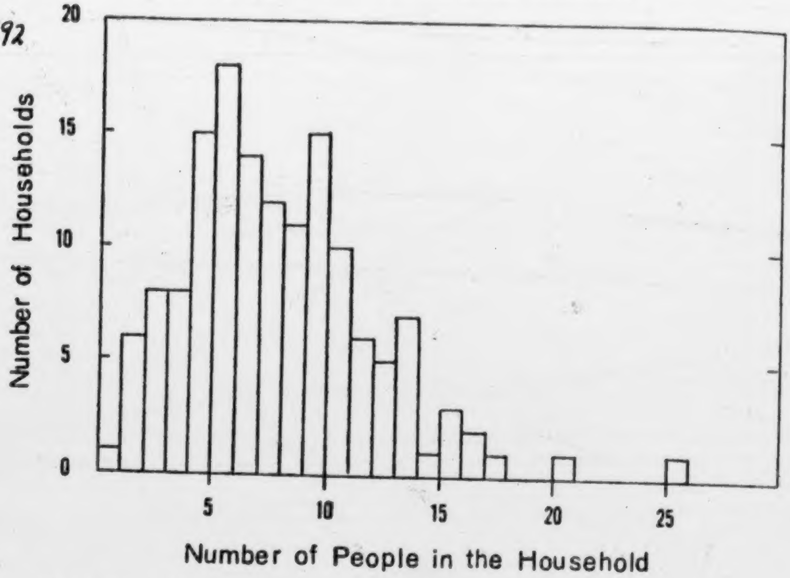

Fig. 1. Household size.

592 family group is visiting merely for a short time, having come to be
574 present at a birth, for instance. Yet such a visit could stretch into months
and eventually even into years.[5]

592 Individuals and whole family groups may shift their place of
residence, not only from village to village, but sometimes from
household to household within the village. Despite this fluidity, a
Tongan household is an easily definable group at any one time, with a
fairly constant range of activities having to do with the production and
592 consumption of food and the sharing of a common kitchen.[6] Visitors are
574 easily assimilated into the household—room is found for them to lay
down the mattresses they bring with them, and they take up the
[132] domestic chores and activities appropriate to their sex and age. Most
visitors bring a few baskets of food with them when they first come, and
their relatives send occasional baskets from home if they stay on for a
while.

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[5] There is no correlation between the length of a visit and the distinction between "attached individuals" and "family units."

[6] These elements in the definition of what constitutes a household group come into play in cases where more than one household occupies the same residential plot or where one household has members living in structures spread out over more than one plot.

previous ceremonial prestation to members of the household, is used to 592
express status relations between giver and receiver.[9] If one does not have 434
koloa, one cannot participate in ceremonial exchanges, and not to do so 431
is to be outside the system of rights, expectations, and obligations that 285
are the foundation of *anga faka-Tonga*, "the Tongan way." 287 554

Similarly, to be a member of the community, a household must give 571
feasts and contribute to others' feasts. Contributions consist mainly of 592
appropriate livestock or foods: pigs, chickens, lobsters, tinned beef, 574
yams, watermelon—in sum, feast food. To some extent, moreover, such 621
services as assistance in preparing and serving the feast can be substituted for contributions of food. (Especially close friends and relatives will usually provide both.[10]) According to my estimate, there were only five households in the village of Motulahi that could afford to sponsor a feast without assistance. Yet, almost every household in the village manages to host at least one feast every 12 to 15 months. They can afford to do so because they are assisted by contributions from other households whom they have assisted in the past. This is not to say that the household is considered as the unit that makes the contributions, for contributions are viewed as coming from individuals. The household itself is the unit in feasting activities only if a member of the household is hosting the feast. Nevertheless, when a person makes contributions to a feast at another household, he obtains the goods from the common pool of resources in his own household. The greater a household's participation as a contributor through the contributions of its members, the more assistance the household will receive when it comes time to act as host.

SOURCES OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME

While a household is not expected to be self-sufficient when it comes 592
to hosting a feast, it must be able, in one way or another, to provide for 434
the other material needs of its members. To do so, however, the household must have the means of access either to the products of an agricultural allotment or to the income from some job, and preferably both. Without one or the other, no household is viable (although it is true that there is less need for cash away from the main island of Tongatapu, and certainly less likelihood of access to a job).

In 1970, 42 Motulahi households had no source of cash income other 592
than the production and preparation for sale of coconuts and/or copra 434
(see Table 6). In other words, almost 30% of the households in the 464

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[9] For a description of ceremonial exchanges in Tonga, see Aoyagi (1966:167-72), Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1941:91-98), and Collocott (1923:221-225).

[10] For a discussion of the membership and activities associated with Tongan kin groups at the local level, see Aoyagi (1966:150-160) and Decktor Korn (1974:9-11).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 249]

554
in Tongan history. The foundation of the *ha'a* system, therefore, is a 613
geneological charter that establishes claims to high rank based on 565
geneological proximity to the descent line of the sacred kings of Tonga.
The system is centred around a type of formal ceremony—the *taumafa* 613
kava or kava-drinking ceremony—whose primary function is to demon- 565
strate the relative rank of the chiefly titles. As Gifford says: "the formal 565
drinking of kava has perhaps its most important social aspect in the 276
visualisation of the rank of the participants through the seating and through 574
the order of serving."[16] In giving expression to rank, the ceremony serves 554
to affirm not only the high rank of the participants, but also that of other
persons who are closely associated with the titles.

An assertion of *ha'a* membership is by its nature also a claim to 613
high rank in Tongan society. It is worth asserting membership, since high 565
rank confers certain privileges. In modern Tonga, these privileges have
relatively little material component for those who are not incumbents of 554
noble titles or their closest relatives, but a person of high rank will always [576]
get a better place at a feast than a person of lower rank, and high rank is
still good for deference in Tongan society.

Ha'a membership comprises the incumbent titleholders and those male 613
and female descendants of former incumbents who have a claim to 611
geneological seniority. Seniority and membership, however, are not
reckoned in the male line only, for affiliation with a *ha'a* is "optative";[17] 565
that is, there is choice in affiliation as regards membership, through male
or female. The greater emphasis, however, is on descent in the male line,
especially with regard to succession to a title when, all things being equal,
a titleholder is succeeded by the eldest of his legitimate sons. While 613
membership in a *ha'a* implies high rank, the personal rank associated with 565
a title is a varying quantity. In Tonga, an individual's rank is based on
that of both his mother and his father; thus, the personal rank of the 554
holder of a particular title is not constant from one generation to the
next.[18] According to one view of marriage among Tongan aristocrats, 613
"increasing the rank of one's descendants was the ultimate goal";[19] 554
a new titleholder might well bring to the title the added prestige of high 565
maternal rank. Among those not heirs to a title, a person whose mother
is of higher rank than his father might have a claim to higher rank in the 557
ha'a of his mother than in that of his father, and in such a case might [581]
assert his membership in his mother's *ha'a* rather than his father's. Other 613
persons might completely drop out of the *ha'a* system because their 565
claim to rank is no longer worth asserting, for persons of relatively low
rank have no place in the system although their kin ties to individuals [554]
of high rank are recognised in other contexts.[20] The point is not only

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16. Gifford 1929:157.
17. Firth 1957.
18. Bott gives a full analysis of the relationship between traditional titles, political power and personal rank.
19. Bott 1972:219.
20. This is a point where the modern situation may be different from the traditional [178]
in that today there is relatively little connection between *ha'a* affiliation and access [423]
to land, which may not have been the case in earlier times.

TONGAN KIN GROUPS: THE NOBLE & THE COMMON VIEW

612 None of the *famili* in the village where I was based goes back more than six generations to a common ancestor of all the stem members, and this includes at least three living generations. Some of the *famili* consist only of the households of a group of brothers and sisters and their parents (if the old couple are alive and living in the village), a total of no more than four or five households. The largest *famili* in the village goes back five generations to a common ancestor, and includes 4 living generations and more than 20 households, but this *famili* is in process of segmenting, having previously split off a generation ago from another, now entirely separate, *famili* in the village.

It must be understood that membership in a localised sibling descent grouping and membership in a *famili* are not the same thing. An individual could be closely related consanguineally to more than one sibling descent group in his village, or he could be related to one such group and his spouse to another, but the members of any one household probably would
612 not be members of more than one *famili*. The reason is that membership
476 is dependent on frequent and consistent participation in *famili* activities.
[431 This includes contributions of material goods and labour on a wide range of feasting occasions—feasts for weddings and funerals, church feasts,
[574] welcoming feasts, and so on. Members of the *famili* are expected to make contributions and participate without being asked to do so. In return, they can expect the same kind of assistance when they give feasts or other big public displays. This is an important point of contrast between *famili* and *kainga*, for *kainga* may also function as a circumscriptive resource group. However, while *kainga* members are appropriate people to provide assistance, if they are not also members of one's own *famili* one must go to them and ask for assistance. Doing so puts one in a subordinate position, which is not the case in provision of assistance within the *famili*. Nevertheless, one goes to a member of the *kainga* for things that cannot
[423] be provided within the *famili*. This applies particularly to the use of land for a short-term period to grow a cash crop like watermelon. Thus the *kainga* is a residual source of assistance, supplementing the *famili*. Besides
[574 assistance, participation in the *famili* and the obligations of membership
431] involve continual informal interaction with other members and member-households: visiting, gossiping, working together in the fields or around the house, like doing laundry together, and sending small gifts of food back and forth. So long as a person continues to fulfil all these obligations,
612 he or she remains a member of the *famili*. From this description it should be clear that it is extremely burdensome materially, and might well be impossible socially, either to maintain these formal and informal obligations with more than one *famili* at a time or to have members of the same
[628] household involved in membership in different *famili*. Thus, people who live in different villages will usually not be members of the same *famili*. If they are, it involves a lot of journeying back and forth and seldom occurs except in the case of neighbouring villages or if there is no *famili* within the village with which a household can affiliate itself.

The obverse of the point that an individual does not belong to more than one *famili* is that *famili* tend not to overlap in their active membership,

and group relations must be distinguished from 'natural' principles of 121
status allocation based on such factors as personality, sex, and age,
which appear in all societies. However, in certain highly stratified
societies such as India and Ruanda, culturally defined categories of
rank are claimed to be pervasive in structuring interpersonal relationships,
including the widely noted higher status of elders to the young,
of men to women, and of strong-willed to weak-willed individuals.
Whether or not individuals in these societies are necessarily more 'rank
conscious' in an absolute sense than individuals in societies without
elaborate ideologies of rank is a question that cannot be answered here.

Conditions in the modern kingdom of Tonga, the only remaining 565
Polynesian kingdom in a region that has been culturally typed for the 554
prevalence of its highly stratified societies (Sahlins, 1963), depart in
some ways from the view which posits the permeation of both inter-
and intra-class interactions with concerns for status differentiation in
terms of a given ideology of rank. Research focussed on Tongan village
life has not discovered a predominantly hierarchical quality in the everyday
interactions among commoners. Neither the Beagleholes, who 565
studied a small village of commoners in the Vava'u region of Tonga 554
(Beaglehole, 1941), nor Aoyagi, who studied a village on the main
island of Tongatapu (Aoyagi, 1966), emphasized the hierarchical quality 114
of village life. Quite to the contrary, Aoyagi noted the absence of
internal stratification in the village that she observed. My own material 565
from fieldwork in the village of 'Uiha in the Ha'apai region of Tonga 554
confirms the view that there is as much equality as hierarchy in the [101]
observed daily interactions among commoners.[2] I had expected the organization
of casual groups within the village, especially the organization 571
of work groups, to be governed by principles of status differentiation, 565
borrowed conceptually from the principles that govern interactions 554
within Tongan kin groups and between social classes, but I did not
find this connection. For example, there is a striking contrast in the 571
behavior of commoner participants in the daily, recreational *fai kava*,
in which kava drinking and conversations are conducted in a relaxed 565
atmosphere where distinctions of status are difficult to perceive, and 276
in the formally ritualized *'ilo kava*, in which the noble or his represen- 574
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[2] I lived for 2½ months on the island (and village) of 'Uiha during the summer of 1972. I spent shorter periods of time in the capital, Nuku'alofa, and touring the main island of Tongatapu. I worked almost entirely in the Tongan language. Since the scope of this paper is broader than a community study, my constructs are based upon my own data and reading of published literature. [122]

571 tative is present and in which all interactions are structured in terms
565 of demeanor and deference.

276 This is of course not to say that questions of rank and status determination
574 are not important in Tongan social behavior. Rather one
554 must try to establish the loci in social life where consistent principles
of rank and status determination are important, and not important,
554 instead of being satisfied with facile claims that *all* social interactions
565 in societies with elaborate ideologies of stratification are dominated by
121 concerns with rank. Kaeppler's reanalysis of Tongan principles of rank
is an important first step in attempting to distinguish the context
565 of Tongan society in which an interest in status determination is a
114 dominant element in the content of social relations (Kaeppler, 1971). Although she begins by claiming that "all interpersonal relationships in the island kingdom are governed by principles of rank ..." (Kaeppler, 1971, p. 174), she recognizes in her critique of Aoyagi that the Tongan village is not a microcosm of Tongan society and that a consideration of the importance of rank must be viewed in terms of rank within kin groups and between social classes. In addition, Kaeppler demonstrates that village studies alone do not provide an adequate understanding of the multidimensional contexts in which concerns with status differentiation operate in Tongan social relations.

121 Focussing on interactions within the commoner class in Tonga,[3] this paper will approach the problem of examining the importance of rank in everyday life by defining two alternative sets of structural arrangements for every adult individual in Tongan society, which although interdependent, are governed by different concerns with status deter-

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121 [3] I lived in a community the noble of which was absent and thus observed
123 predominantly commoner social interactions. Much of the previous work on
565 Tonga is characterized by a fascination with the social and cultural life of
114 Tongan nobility, and there is a need to understand social arrangements at the
554 bottom of the class structure. In fact, it is possible to attribute the extreme 'permeation' view of ideologies of rank, which this paper attempts to modify, to the predominant attention that analysts have paid to rituals and customs of high status groups. For example, previous studies of highly stratified societies attribute intra-class or horizontal rankings to concepts originating in inter-class or vertical rankings (see Maquet, 1961; Goldman, 1970). There is no general justification for establishing a relationship of dominance of vertical over horizontal domains of ranking even though both domains may share some common features in the way that rank is expressed. In this paper, it is only necessary to demonstrate that kinship and class domains share some common principles of expressing rank without concern for the dominance of domains, a question that may appear and needs an answer only when one's perspective is from the top down in the analysis of a hierarchical system.

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

aware of the exact societal significance of the noble title to which they 565
are associated, they still have a keen sense of honor carried for them by 621
the title-holder. Still, the title-holder is not one of them, although he may
have been before succeeding to the title. Rather, he operates in and [276]
becomes part of a different domain of social life in which commoners
have no part other than in the representation of their honor through [574]
the noble, i.e. the domain of kingship and royalty expressed most vividly
in the *taumafakava* or kava ceremony of the Tu'i, his *matāpules*, and
the nobles.

The various types of kava-drinking situations and the rituals associated 276
with them are the key to the contemporary preservation of 574
traditional aspects of Tongan social structure.[9] Kava-drinking is a highly
ritualized remnant of ancient Tongan customs, most of which were swept [178]
away with the virtual replacement of the important indigenous religious
belief systems and related ritual by Christianity. The differences in *fai* 276
kava (among commoners), *'ilo kava* (with a noble present), and a 574
taumafakava (with the Tu'i present) reflect, and are a visual manifestation
of, Tonga's class structure. One's rank in the class structure is 565
seen by the observer in the hierarchical rituals of the various levels of
kava-drinking. The ritual and symbolic superiority of the noble over his
people is most striking in the *'ilo kava* ceremony both to the analyst and
the indigenous informant on the village level.

In sum, the centrifugal force of the family estate on village residents 621
is currently a major factor responsible for the erosion of the traditional 565
supports for the noble's *de facto* prerogatives and influence in the community. 612
People who are interested in the development of their dispersed
estates, which may eventually be a means for their own social mobility, [554]
are less likely to be interested in the honor and status that they gain in
the traditional system through the person of the title-holder. To the
extent that this is true, the actual authority of nobles, at least in the

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[9] For previous discussions and descriptions of kava-drinking ceremonies in [114]
modern Tonga see Gifford, 1929, pp. 156-170; Beaglehole, 1941, pp. 112-122;
Newell, 1947; Collocott, 1927; and most recently, Bott and Leach, 1972.
These authors (except Beaglehole) concentrate largely on the highly ritualized kava-drinking ceremonies of the king and nobles. There is as yet no adequate ethnographic account of the commoner *fai kava*. This is an excellent example of how fascination with noble customs can lead to an overemphasis on the permeation of concern with rank in all institutions and within all classes. As I suggest here, the commoner *fai kava* is permeated much more with the egalitarian ethic of the *fonua* than with the hierarchical ideology of the societal class system.

of Captain Furneaux.[1] They brought each of them a hog and some 648
yams as a testimony of their friendship and I was not wanting on my 643
part in making them a sutable return.

At length about 2 PM we arrived at our intended Station, being a [431]
very snug place formed by the shore of Tongatabu on the SE and two 122
small islands on the East and NE: here we anchored in 10 fathom
Water over a bottom of owsey sand, distant from the shore one third
of a mile.[2] Soon after we had Anchored, I landed accompaned by 648
Omai and some of the Officers, we found the King waiting for us on
the beach, ready to conduct us to a small neat house, situated a little [643]
within the skirts of the woods with a fine large area before it; this [342]
house the Cheif told me was at my service during my stay and a
better situation we could not wish for. We had not been long in the
house before a pretty large circle of people were assembled before us
and seated on the Area. A root of the Cava plant was brought and [276]
laid down before the King, he ordered it to be split into pieces and
given to several people, men and women, to chew and a bowl of [574]
liquer was presently prepared. In the mean time a baked hog and
two baskets of baked yams were brought and afterwards divided into [264]
ten portions, each of these portions were given to certain people
present but how many each was intend[ed] for I could not tell, one
was sent to the Kings brother and one remained which I judged was
for himself as it was a choise bit. The liquor was next served out, but 648
the King seemed to give no directions about it;[3] the first cup was 643
brought to him, he ordered it to be give[n] to one who sat near him,
the second was brought him which he kept, the third was brought 276
me, I gave it to Omai for their manner of brewing had quenched my 574
thirst;[4] the rest was served out to different people by direction of the

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[1] We have no prior record of this friendship: the Tupou's are becoming rather confusing. Tupoulahi was the name of the last Tu'i Kanokupolu, and as Gifford writes (*Tongan Society*, p. 88), 'The frequent use of the name Tupou for the Tui Kanokupolu's relatives makes identification as difficult as with the Tui Tonga's relatives with whom the name Fatafehi was equally common'.

[2] The anchorage was in the harbour of Nuku'alofa, the present capital town of Tonga. Cook's description points to a spot in its eastern bight, almost two miles east of the existing pier. The 'shore of Tongatabu on the SE' was the arm of land, the northern side of the lagoon, which ends in the point called Holeva ('Observatory Point' on the engraved chart)—no doubt the 'uncultivated point' mentioned as 'our station', pp. 134–5 below—and the detached island Nukunuku. The small island to the east was 'Oneata, though it is not the only islet in that direction; that to the north-east was Pangaimotu ('Pangymaudoo' in Cook's paragraph below). This position is still recommended as the best for shelter and holding ground in the summer months, which is also the hurricane season; so the Tongans who directed Cook knew what they were doing, even though the month was June.

[3] Because he did not need to—except as Cook goes on to note his first direction as to a recipient—the ceremony being so much one of settled ritual. How strict the ritual was, at a formal kava-ceremony, and all its details, may be found from a study of the long description in Mariner, II, pp. 150–67.

[4] But, as Mariner points out, the Tongans were an exceedingly clean race, and only [123]

648 man who had the management of it. A Cup was carri'd to the Kings
643 Brother, with which and his victuals he retired, as did some others
also, and the reason was they could neither eat nor drink before the
276 King; but there were others of a much inferior rank who did both.[1]
574 Soon after the most of them retired, each carrying with them what
victuals he or she had not eat. It is necessary to observe that not one
648 4th part of the Company had either Victuals or drink and some had
643 one and not the other: those who had the Victuals I took to be of the
276 Kings household. The Servants who served out the Victuals and
574 Cava always delivered it out of their hand siting, not only to the
King but to every other person. And altho this was the first time of
644 our landing, and a great many people present who had never seen
264 us before yet no one was troublesome, but the greatest good order
was Observed throughout the whole. Before I went on board I was
648 shewed some pools or holes of fresh Water as they were pleased to
call it; the Water in one was indeed tolerable but it was some distance
Wed. 11 in land and but little of it. The next morning I went over to the
312 island of *Pangymaudoo*,[2] near which we lay, to look for Water being
told there was some there; I was conducted to a small Pool that was
tolerable and had it cleaned out and here it was we watered the
122 Ships. As I intended to make some stay here I got all the Cattle a
shore,[3] a party of Marines with the officer for a guard, set up the
observatory and Mr King resided a shore to attend the observations
and superintend the several works carrying on there, for I had the

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[648] young persons who had clean mouths and good teeth were allowed to take part in the
chewing. This was not a prolonged process, and the masticated root was kept dry. What
[643] Cook calls 'brewing' was really infusing. He was not always put off by the sight of the
process. 'Captn Cook often drank of it, holding it as an argument that seamen should eat
[276] & drink every thing that came in their way, some of our Officers follow'd ye good example
set them, I must acknowledge either my want of taste or politeness for I could by no means
[574] be brought to taste it in a mixture, contenting myself with taking it in ye manner of ye
slaves, the least piece put in ye mouth fills it with an instant glowing heat, it is nearest in
[129] taste to ye horse-radish of any thing I can recollect.'—Williamson, 17 July.

[1] '... what at first appears singular, is, that although neither his brother nor any great
chiefs can eat before him, yet his own attendants do & sometimes with him, this cannot be
suppos'd to degrade his dignity & lessen it, as they are not exalted sufficiently to claim any
[563] libertys he does not chuse to grant.'—King, 7 June. The reason for this exception to the
general eating rule was probably that those who were favoured were, as Cook says below,
'of the Kings household'—that is, they were *matapule*, and also *matapule* of foreign origin.
The inconvenience of the eating *tapu*, and other varieties of *tapu*, carried to an extreme of
consistency with personal attendants, might well be very great, but one who was rankless in
any Tongan connection was exempt. Thus Hoakai (Samoan Soakai?) 'a matapule
to the Tui Tonga, was privileged to eat with the Tui Tonga, a thing which no Tongan
might do' (Gifford, p. 141).

[131] [2] Pangaimotu. It is a small island, less than a square mile in area and 15 feet high, 2¼
miles north-east of Nuku'alofa.

[825] [3] '... they were much surprizd at our Cattle and called them Boaha,la,hi; which
signifies, large Hogs. ...'—Gilbert. The Tongan expression is *puaka lahi*. I have been told
that the Tongans still refer to cattle and other livestock as 'Cook's pigs'.

afterwards more came droping in to the number of a hundred or upwards, 765
mostly old men and all dressed as above discribed. As soon as
they were all come in a large root of Cava, brought by one of the 643
King's Servants was produced, and a bowl which held at least four
or five gallons; several person went to chewing the root and this bowl 765
was made brim full of the liquor, and several Cups were made of the 643
Plantain leafe while it was preparing.

The first Cup was given to the King which he ordered to be given 276
to another, the Second was brought him which he drank and the 574
third was offered me. Afterwards as each Cup was fill'd the person [415]
who filled it asked who was to have it, and a nother named the person
and to that person it was carried; thus they continued till the bowl
was emptied which was before half the Company was served, yet no
one seemed dissatisfied. As the bowl grew low the person who had the
desposal of the liquor seemed rather at a loss to whom he should send
the Cups of liquor to and frequently consulted those who sat near
him. About half a dozen cups served the whole company, each as it
was emptied was thrown down upon the ground where the waiters
picked up and carried it to be filled again. They sat as usual with a
great deal of gravity and hardly spoke to each other the whole time.
All this time did we wait with some impatience, in expectation of
every minute seeing the Mourning ceremony begin; when soon after
the Cava was drank out, to our great surprise and disapointment they
all rose up and dispersed and the King told us he was ready to attend
us to the Ships. If this was a Mourning ceremony it was a strange
one, perhaps it was the second, third or fourth Mourning, or what
was not very uncommon Omai might have misunderstood them; for
excepting the ceremony of the green branch, there was nothing in
this meeting but what we saw every day.[1] But be what it would as soon 122
as it was over we set out to return to the Ship. As we rowed down the
Lagoon or inlet we met with two canoes coming in from fishing, the 425
Chief ordered them to be called along side and took from them every 643
fish and shell they had got, he afterward brought to two others and
searched them but they had nothing; why this was done I cannot
say as we had plenty of Victuals in the boat; some of this fish he
after wards gave to me and some his servants sold on board the ship.
As we proceeded down the Inlet we overtook a large sailing Canoe, 648
every person in her that were upon their legs when we came up
with her sat down till we were past, even the Man who steered,
altho he could not manage the helm in any other position but standing.
Having been informed that there was some good Water on 312

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[1] It was in fact the mourning kava ceremony.

and one of the Daughters lives at Hammoah, or Vaughwaugh,
Latouleboula the son and the other Daughter at Tongatabu; the 644
latter is she who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 22nd of June.
They were both frequently with us, but never appeared to be persons
of consequence nor property. Latouleboula was looked upon by his
country men as a Mad man, and many of his actions shewed they
were not misstaken. At Middleburg I was shewed a good deal of land
said to belong to him, and I saw there a son of his, a child, that they
called by the same title as the father. The Son of the greatest Prince
in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little
brat was.

Not only the King, but most of the great men have a kind of Levy 565
every morning, but the chief purpose of these meetings is to drink 276
Cava, or Kava, which one of the company treats the others with. It is
generally, if not always prepared by the servants or toutous; the first 574
cup is brought to the principal person, who for the most part orders [512]
it to be given to a nother, the second is then brought him, which he [643]
drinks. Then as the others are filled, the person who fills them asks
who is to have it and the person who gives the treat names the person
and so it continues till the bowl is emptied. It is served out by the
servants, who sit down when they deliver the cup, unless it be a meeting of inferior chiefs, than this ceremony is not observed, but great
order is always kept up.

Of the Religion of these people, I know little more than what has 771
been occasionally mentioned. There principles and notions, nearly
agree with the people of Otaheite; they acknowlidge the influance of 776
superior beings, one of whom is supreme and the rest subordinate. [771]
The supreme being I have heard called by different names; the King [771]
called him Fattafee, and said that when he was angry he distroyed [184]
the produce of the land by giving them no rain, the fish of the sea and
punishes them with death, but when he was pleased he gave them
health, long life and every thing in plenty, and this seem'd to be all
they either feared or expected.[1] I think I may venture to assert that 182

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fahu to his children. The complications and proliferations were endless, but enough has
been said to explain the anomaly of the sacred king doing homage to others who were not [644]
kings, but merely sacred. For Paulaho, both Moungalakepa his niece, and Latumipulu his [602]
nephew, were *fahu*. The niece, the female, indeed, was more *fahu* than the nephew: to
Moungalakepa the king did obeisance, and in her presence could not eat; in Latumipulu's [643]
presence he could not eat, but did not do him obeisance.

[1] Tongan religion is a difficult subject indeed. There were many differences between [264]
Tongan and Tahitian notions; for instance, the generally important Polynesian gods
Tane, Tu and Rongo did not appear on the Tongan scene. But Tangaroa or Tangaloa [771]
did, and it was he who fished up the Tongan islands out of the sea. He fathered the first
Tu'i Tonga, Aho'eitu, by a Tongan woman called Ilaheva—and hence perhaps the semi- [771]
divine Paulaho's reference to him as Fatafehi. But the distinctive Tongan principal god,
shared with Samoa but no other Polynesian island, was Hikuleo; he and the other gods or [773]
[775]

249 branches considerably with large heart shap'd leaves and jointed
stalks. The root is the only part us'd, which being dug up is given to
216 the servants that attend, who breaking it in pieces scrape the dirt off
with a shell or bit of stick, and each begins & chews his portion which
[415] they spit into a bit of plantane leaf: and the person who is to prepare
[412] it collects all these mouthfulls and puts them into a large wooden dish
or bowl with three or four feet, & adds as much water as will make it
of a proper strength. It is then well mixd up with the hands, and some
loose stuff which mats are made of thrown on the surface, which
being turn'd in intercepts the fibrous part and is wrung hard to get
as much as possible out from it, when it is given to some of the bye
sitters who sometimes prepare a weaker sort from it for themselves by
276 chewing it again. They then begin to distribute it in little cups made
574 of a bit of plantane leaf tied at each end, but where the company is
large & respectable as our present one was the person who distributes
[415] it calls out to know who the servants shall carry it to, and is commonly
directed by one person belonging to the chief who gives the Kava.
Each person has a clean cup which they throw away as soon as it is
drank, and the quantity is commonly about a quarter of a pint,
though they sometimes venture on two cups if much has been made.
276 The immediate effect it produces is not perceptible on these people
who use it so frequently, but on some of ours who try'd it, though so
nastily prepar'd, it had the same power as spirits in making them
drunk, or rather producing that kind of stupefaction in consequence
of using Opium or other substances of that kind. It should be observ'd
at the same time that though they have it always fresh prepar'd—
and I have seen them drink it seven times before noon—it is nevertheless so disagreeable or at least seems so that the greatest part of
them cannot swallow it without making wry faces and shuddering
afterwards.

114 After this we set out from Mooa and meeting several Canoes in our
way Poulaho calld to them and took what fish he pleas'd. We din'd
[643] on a small island call'd 'Onne'vy[1] about a league off the mouth of the
[312] bay, where Poulaho said there was good water but we found as was
said before that these people have very little knowledge of such a
[103] valuable article for there was none of it tolerable to us. This island is
quite in a natural state, being only frequented as a fishing place, and
311 has nearly the same productions as Palmerstons island with some
226 E'toá trees.

114 On returning to the ship we pass'd a curious large rock which
133 seems to have been thrown upon the reef where it stands by accident.

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[1] 'Onevai.

764 remarkable except a Fyatocka of one house standing on an artificial mount at least thirty feet high. A little on one side there is a pretty 644 large open Area and not far from it a good deal of uncultivated ground, which upon enquiring why it lay waste they seem'd to say 311 belong'd to that place which was Poulahos, and not by any means to be touch'd. There was also at no great distance a number of E'toa 196 Trees on which clung millions of the large Ternate Bats[1] making a disagreeable noise. We could not kill any at this time for want of muskets, but some that were got at Anna'mooka measur'd near three feet when the wings were extended.

On returning our host orderd the hog that had been dress'd to be 648 brought, with several baskets of bak'd yams and some Cocoa nuts, 574 but we found that instead of his entertaining us we were to entertain 264 him, the property of the feast being entirely transferr'd to us his guests who were to dispose of it as we pleas'd. The person who cleand [262] it in the morning cut it up (but not before we desird him) in a very dexterous manner with a knife of split Bamboo, dividing the several parts with such quickness and hit the joints so exactly that surpriz'd us very much. The whole was set down before us, though at least fifty pound weight, untill we took a small piece away and desir'd they would share the rest amongst the people sitting round, but it was not without a great many scruples they did that at last, and then ask'd what particular people they should give it to. They were however very well pleas'd when they found it not contrary to any custom of ours, some carrying off the portion that was given them and others eating it on the spot, but it was with great difficulty we could prevail on Futtafaihe himself to eat a small bit.

After dinner we went with Futtafaihe and five or six people who 765 attended him to the same place where Poulaho had carried us in the [114] morning the last time we were at Mooa, but not into the inclosure. They hung some leaves about their neck in walking to it as he had [824] done, and when we came to a large open boat house where a few people were they threw away their leaves, sat down before it and [304] gave their cheeks a few gentle strokes with the fist, after which they sat for about ten minutes with a very grave appearance & went away [292] without having spoke a single word. Every person who went to this house of mourning had a mat tied over the cloth they wore which was also the case the day Poulaho went. This explaind what Poulaho had mentiond about Tooge, though from the beating only lasting a few seconds he had not been observ'd to do it; and this seems only a

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[1] *Pteropus tonganus*; Cf. Bayly, II, p. 263, n. 3. This was evidently the bat that the Tongans called *[illegible]*.

continuation of the mourning ceremony by way of condolance, for 765
upon enquiring who it was done for they said it was a chief who had
died at Va'vaoo some time ago, that they had practic'd it ever since
and would do it for a considerable time longer.

In the evening we had a pig dress'd as the hog with Yams and 648
Cocoa nuts brought for supper, and Futtafaihe finding we did not 574
like the scruples they had made before to accept of any part of the
entertainment, ask'd us immediately to share it & give it to whom we 264
pleas'd. When supper was over abundance of cloth was brought for 262
us to sleep in but we were a good deal disturb'd by an odd custom, at
least amongst the better people, of being beat while they are asleep. 518
Two women sat by Futtafaihe and perform'd this operation, which is
call'd Tooge Tooge,[1] by beating briskly on his body and legs with
both fists as if on a drum till he fell asleep, and continued it the
whole night with some short intervals. After being asleep they abate
a little in the strength & quickness of the beating, but resume it if
the person is likely to wake, and towards the morning we found the
women relievd each other by turns & went to sleep. In any other
country it would be suppos'd such a practice would put an end to all
rest, but here it certainly acts as an opiate and is a strong proof of
what habit may effect. The noise made by this was however not the 521
only thing that prevented our resting, for the people who slept in the
house not only convers'd amongst each other frequently as in the 264
day but all got up in the midst of the night & made a proper meal of 262
fish and yams, which were brought to them by a person who seem'd
to know very well the appointed time for such things.

[JULY 1777]

TUESDAY JULY 1st. The wind N and NNW. Gentle breezes with fine 132
weather. In the morning we set out with Futtafaihe and walk'd down
the east side of the Bay to the point that is opposite Hoolaiva. The 114
country all along this place is very well cultivated but in general not 648
so much inclosd as at the bottom, and amongst many others that are
very large we pass'd one plantane field at least a mile long which was 311
in excellent order, every tree growing with great vigour and not a 245
bit of grass to be seen. We found that in travelling Futtafaihe
excercis'd a power, though by no means wantonly, which pointed 643
out the great authority of some of the principal men, or is perhaps
only annex'd to the royal family; for he sent to one place for fish, to
another for yams &c and so on at other places, which were always
brought with the greatest readiness as if he had been absolute master

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[1] *tukituki.*

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

648 answered, 'migee migee.'[1] This would not have been worth mentioning
but that it shews in a striking light the great simplicity of their
609 Manners, which must be an apology for its indelicacy, at least I have
[836] no other to offer except the strong propensity a man feels to tell his
[833] friends a piece of news that savours so much of the marvellous &
ludicrous. Early the next morning we took our leave of Toobow who
wanted us much to accept of some Cloth in return for the presents we
759 had made him, but this we could not comply with. We had not gone
far from the House before we met Phenow dressed in his best Habit
[634] with his Hair and Shoulders shining with oil; being somewhat surprized
[302] at seeing him thus so early in the Day, we asked him the reason
of it & he told us he was going to wait upon Toobow to desire his
assistance for one of his Wives who was sick—being set upon the
Enquiry by this Circumstance I learned afterwards that Toobow is
the Chief Physician of the Island & that he is highly respected and
venerated by all Ranks of people on that Account, & it appears by
his Rank that ye profession of Physic is excercised only by the Princes
of the Country, like it was of old by the Chiefs & Kings among the
grecians. A medical Person or Physician is called in their Language
Fo-foa;[2] how far their Knowledge extends we had not an opportunity
to learn.

276 Every Morning the Chiefs and their attendants drink Kava, the
Juice of an intoxicating Pepper, the method of preparing and drinking
574 it is as follows. The Chief sits crosslegged facing his attendants who
[565] sit in the same manner forming a half Circle with their faces towards
[512] him, a large wooden Bowl is placed in the middle, with some water
at hand in a gourd, a quantity of the Kava root is brought in by a
[415] servant & every one except the Chief himself takes a bit of it & chews
it; while they are performing this Operation, one man is employed in
making small Cups of Plantain leaves, another in drawing a plant into
Fibres with his Teeth, which they use like Tow for a strainer; these
Things being got ready one of them went round for the Kava which
every man delivered to him out of his Mouth ground into a mass full

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[1] Mariner 'michi'; Anderson 'Meedje, meedje, [*misi-misi*], To drink out of a coconut', or, of children, to suck; but here it must mean sexual intercourse. Labillardière, *Account of a Voyage in search of La Pérouse* . . . (2nd ed., London, 1802), in his twelfth chapter gives amusing instances of its use thus, and his Vocabulary of the Friendly Islands (II, p. 398) has 'Mitzi mitzi, mitchi mitchi', for the act of coition.

[2] This word presents a little problem. It is difficult to say whether the initial letter is a badly-written F or a badly-written T. If it is F then there may be some connection with the now obsolescent *fuavai*, a dispenser of medicine. If it is T the alliance may be with *tufunga*, a word which in its various Polynesian forms and combinations carries all sorts of implications of skill or wisdom, though in Tongan it seems to have had the more restricted meaning of skilled workman or artificer as given by Mariner for his 'Toofoonga'. The more likely guess seems to be *fuavai*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

of Saliva. The Servant then put each portion together into the wooden 276
bowl & poured a certain quantity of Water upon it according to the
number of Guests, the proportion of about half a pint of the prepared 574
Liquor falling to the share of each. He mixes the Mass & the water [415]
well together with his hands & then puts a handful of the Fibres in
through which he strained the Liquor; when this was done he had a
fresh Bundle of Fibres brought to him which he put into the bowl &
thereby took up a sufficient Quantity of the Liquor for one person's
Share, & strained it into the Cup which was brought to him by the
other Servant, who carried it first to the Chief himself except there
was a stranger in Company to whom they always gave the preference,
after that to the old Men, & so on till every one had his Cup & if
there was any left it fell to the share of the person who prepared it.
They give the root another Infusion which affords them a second
Cup, but much weaker than the first. The Cup which is made of one [415]
leaf is just made for present use & then thrown away. In this manner
did Powlohow, Fatafee & Phenow regale themselves very morning
apart from each other, surrounded by inferior Chiefs who seemed to [643]
be their immediate Dependents, & it seldom happened but that some [634]
of our people (C. Cook, Omai) attended their Levee & partook of [565]
their Beveredge to which they were soon reconciled, notwith- [123]
standing the Method of preparing it was not the most delicate: it has
a strong bitter sickly taste peculiar to itself, it exhilerates the Spirits [171]
& is perfectly intoxicating tho' it partakes more of the Effects of
Opium than of Spirituous Liquors, causing Drowsiness and Stupidity;
we never saw any of these people intoxicated by it nor have they the
scaly Skin & sore Eyes by which the Otaheiteans Chiefs are dis-
tinguished, who drink an immoderate quantity of it & often get
intoxicated with it, for there they drink it genuine that is with
nothing but Saliva & the Juice of the root,[1] which may be compared
to raw Liquor, whereas the People of Tongataboo mix water with it
and so make it into Grog.

As the Island produces Breadfruit, Yams & Plantains in great 517
abundance & that with very little trouble of Labour to the Inhabi-
tants, they lead a very easy and an indolent Kind of Life as indeed
all the South Sea Islanders do; being perplexed with no Cares for the
morrow, they find sufficient Leasure to pursue their amusements &
enjoy the present Moment; during the Heat of the day they often
repose themselves in the Shade or sleep in their Houses upon matts.

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[1] It would have been impossible to produce a 'drink' in this manner. What Samwell means, presumably, is that a person would chew the root for himself and swallow what he could get out of it thus. This practice was certainly followed by some addicts.

[1777]

512 They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or
[515] in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring &
[533] sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked
yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked
[276] yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes
[574] the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water
[264] with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk,
[262] not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are
[271] served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often
brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a
[272] dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa
[565] nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will
[264] employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing
[262] material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in
[252] Captⁿ Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play
upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before
[171] their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which
[533] they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young
[521] men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors.
The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious
[535] Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a
day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the
[226] Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures
others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the
Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work
351 about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appear-
417 ance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of
Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the
361 inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality
of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa
342 nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small
362 & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong
square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the
ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the
Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are
352 quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest
by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them,
& these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally
[415] to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their
[411] Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

[1] *kali.*

613
in favor of a high chief with strong alliances. A chief's "people"[26] need 554
not be related to him by blood, but rather are associated with him by virtue 565
of living on the land (*tofi'a*) which goes with his title. [611]

DISCUSSION

Inequality is a conspicuous feature of Tongan social organization, but 554
dominance and subordination do not operate in one dimension. Rather,
Tonga can be characterized as having multi-dimensional ranking, and not
all of the dimensions fit into one pattern. In any discussion of rank it is 554
necessary to specify *ḳāinga* status; inheritance within the *ḳāinga;* class 565
rank; or *ha'a* rank. For each kind of rank a different combination of principles 613
is involved: *ḳāinga* status depends on maternal and paternal principles, 612
sex, and age; *ḳāinga* inheritance depends on primogeniture within the
patrilineal group; *ha'a* rank depends on segmentation from the Tu'i Tonga
line (an individual ideally tracing his *ha'a* through his father's line); and
class rank depending on one's genealogy through both mother and father.

It is interesting to note that when Tongans discuss rank they often do 554
so with reference to "who cooks for whom."[27] In our example of the funeral, 565
the cooks are those related through the mother of the dead man, especially 613
the *liongi* (see Note 8). At the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 the *liongi* 612
were those related through her mother, i.e., the Tu'i Tonga line, and especially 764
the present Kalanivalu, who is her *tama 'a tu'asina.* Kalanivalu was 644
liongi to her because of their *ḳāinga* relationships, even though his *ha'a*
rank derives from the Tu'i Tonga, while her *ha'a* rank derives from the
Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Ha'a are societal divisions comprised of individuals associated with ranked 613
titles. *Ha'a* have political and ceremonial functions and are of significance 554
only to those in positions of power or potential power and are known 565
mainly by chiefs who stand to benefit by power play or tradition. Most 184
Tongans today (and probably traditionally) do not know the relative
ranking or origin of the various *ha'a,* because these are affairs of the chiefs
and do not concern them.

Aoyagi, who worked in Tonga in 1962 and 1963, states (Aoyagi 1966: 613
150) that "*ha'a* are not known in this village or in other villages where I 554
made enquiries." Her failure to elicit information on *ha'a* is not because 565
they do not exist, but because she asked the wrong people about them. 114
She worked with commoners, mainly in Nukuleka, which is a village
under a *matāpule,* rather than a chief. Any noble, chief, or member of
his family, however, can tell one without hesitation to which *ha'a* they belong
and with what senior *ha'a* they are associated. At the kava ceremony held [276]
in connection with the coronation of Tupou IV on July 6, 1967, the [574]
present title holders of the various *ha'a* took part, and they were well
aware of their positions and duties within the framework of the societal [643]
structure. Aoyagi (1966: 173) takes both Gifford and Sahlins to task for
characterizing Tonga as an internally stratified system, saying:

> He [Gifford] wrote that "the whole system of lineages may be likened to a tree with trunk, limbs, branches, and twigs," which is not the case of the *famili* organisation at

> all. And much less, an internal stratified system as the result of ramification (ramage 613
> type according to M. Sahlins) can not be possibly found in this village. Supposing the 554
> ramage type to exist here in this village, all the villagers should be integrated into a 565
> triangle of hierarchy, the top of which is occupied by Leka. Actually Leka is in the
> highest rank of the villagers but except for his position it does not seem that people 114
> are internally stratified.

This illustrates precisely how the existing situation can be clouded by a failure to distinguish societal ranking from social status, failure to understand that a different kind of rank operates within them, failure to delineate how these systems are subdivided and ranked in relation to specific activities, and failure to understand how the systems can be manipulated.

Aoyagi seems to imply that village structure is, or should be, a microcosm of the societal structure. In Tonga, at least, this is not the case. *Ha'a* are part of the societal structure and have little to do with villages, and not all villages have men of title. No doubt "ramages" did not exist in Aoyagi's village, since "ramages" (*ha'a*) can only be conceptualized in terms of the whole society and would make no sense at all in terms of a single village.
But that *ha'a* do exist as societal groupings is undeniable. The whole traditional 613
government is predicated on them, and one can observe them in 554
operation in a royal kava ceremony. Village structure in Tonga today is a
Western overlay rather than part of the traditional system. Traditionally 565
the people did not live in villages, the usual pattern being one of dispersed [177]
settlement (Maude 1965: 27). The positions of *ofisa kolo* (town officer) [361]
and *pule fakavahe* (district officer) are appendages of a central administrative [647]
system that is concerned mainly with health, sanitation, and taxes.

Power and prestige are still functions of the traditional sociopolitical 554
system based on *ha'a* affiliation and the class division that separates chiefs 565
from commoners. Education is a new force, but those educated men who 178
succeed usually do so by manipulating the traditional system to their advantage, 613
e.g., by marrying the daughters of high-ranking chiefs. The society [581]
as a whole is still kinship oriented, and the principles of *kāinga* rank are [612]
acknowledged on even the most important societal occasions.

During the recent coronation kava ceremony, a large pig was brought to 554
the front of the kava circle and divided, ostensibly to be eaten by the chiefs 565
and *mātapule* in the kava circle, but actually to be ritually taken away 276
from each of the individual participants by a person of higher rank. This
visually acknowledged the social fact that rank operates in more than one 574
dimension, one set of principles being used on the societal level while a 613
different set was operating within the *kāinga*. On this particular occasion [612]
all the *ha'a* were represented, and their relative rank and association with other *ha'a* were shown by the order in which their members were served and the position in which they were seated (*ha'a* ranking). Some of the title holders of the low-ranking *ha'a* are higher in class rank than the title holders of some of the high-ranking *ha'a*, but in this case *ha'a* rank takes
precedence.[28] The persons who took away the portions of the pig had higher [612]
status within their *kāinga* than these highest societal ranking people.

Tonga has an internally stratified system and is very conscious of rank at 554 565

9. Men and women form separate kava circles to avoid *tuofefine* ("sisters") and 612
tuonga'ane ("brothers") being in the same circle, which would considerably restrict the 554
topics of conversation. [602]

10. For example, if a man's eldest sister is not available, any sister can play the re- [764]
quired role. [574]

11. This innovation has tended to complicate rank even further by introducing a kind 554
of "estate system," in which the organizing principle is land tenure and land rights. 565

12. Most commoners say that they do not belong to a *ha'a;* however, they can often [423]
trace their relationship to a chief and know to which *ha'a* he belongs. This may be
because Tongans are usually quite modest, not claiming *ha'a* membership because
"such things are affairs of the chiefs."

13. This version was given on a school radio broadcast in 1966, and is common knowl- 000
edge among most Tongan adults.

14. The names of the two divisions refer to their original geographical placement. The [554]
Kauhala'uta lived on the inland (*'uta*) side of the road, while the Kauhalalalo lived [565]
on the lower or ocean side of the road, in order to protect the Tu'i Tonga and his
people. The data presented in this section are mainly from the Honorable Ve'ehala, a [613]
chief of Ha'a Ngata Motu'a; Sister Augustino, a descendant of the Tu'i Kanokupolu [616]
line; and a book of genealogies belonging to the present-day descendant of the Tu'i [115]
Tonga line.

15. See Figure 1. [127]

16. At one of the last society-wide events which included dances (the coronation of
the present king on July 4, 1967) the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's village did dance at the *mala'e* 554
of the Tu'i Tonga. They were not, however, dancing for the descendant of the Tu'i 565
Tonga, but for the Fijians who were guests at his home for the coronation, and the 613
Tu'i Ha'ateiho was thus activating his Fijian relationships. Most of the villagers danc- 616
ing did not know why they were dancing at the home of the Tu'i Tonga, only that
they should not be doing so. In this case it was necessary not only to have the partici- [612]
pants' point of view but also the societal point of view in order to understand the [535]
formal significance of this dance presentation.

17. The Falefa were the original *mātapule* (ceremonial attendants) and, because of [173]
their celestial origin, form a separate class. Later *mātapule* were recruited from the *tu'a*
(commoners) or brought from Samoa.

18. Ha'a Ngana, which includes Tu'i Ha'a Ngana and Malupō, originated by segmen- [173]
tation from the twentieth Tu'i Tonga as shown here. Today, however, they are in-
cluded in Falefisi. Note that the origin of Ha'a Ngana and Fale Fisi presented here
differs considerably from Gifford (1929: 34). However, Gifford (1929: 39), is not con-
sistent.

19. Note that the present King and his brother are heads not only of two different [643]
ha'a but of *ha'a* in two different divisions, demonstrating that societal inheritance is
not simply by patrilineal descent, or even close blood relationship, and that *ha'a* are [644]
not lineages by the usual definition.

20. See Figure 2.

21. According to my informants, Nuku was the younger brother of the 6th Tu'i Ha'a 616
Takalaua, not his "son," as Gifford (1929: 36) states.

22. The name originated on an occasion when the three of them were wrapped in a 613
mat and resembled one man with three heads. 554

23. Kanokupolu is the name of a village on the western end of Tongatapu. The word 565
itself means "flesh of Upolu," which refers to the tradition that the mother of Ngata 173
was from Upolu, Samoa.

24. The title Tungi is presently vacant; the last Tungi is now King Tāufa'āhau Tupou
IV.

25. Cross-cousin marriage (*kite tama*) was not prescribed, proscribed, or preferred, but 613
was occasionally practiced among the highest chiefs to prevent social repercussions that 554
might result if a Tu'i were outranked by a collateral line. The traditional incest rules 565
seem to have been that one could marry his third cousin (*mokopuna tolu*), and cross- 581
cousin marriage was not a perceived alternate in choosing a mate. Rather, cross-cousin 582

613

marriage was a function of rank and a political move to prevent the interference of *kāinga* status principles at the societal level, and to assure that the offspring would have the highest possible rank within a certain line. 554 565 [581]

26. A chief's "people" are called his *kāinga*, even though they are not related to him by traceable blood ties. [582]

27. In discussions about rank Tongans often use a statement such as "X must be lower than Y because he cooked at Z's funeral."

28. For example, Tuita operated on this occasion as a *mātapule*, even though he outranks many of the chiefs in class ranking. [276] [574]

113

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533 dancing. Such songs are sung at informal kava parties or on any
[535] informal occasion when people get together. *Ta'anga*, the word used
[534] for *lakalaka* and *ma'ulu'ulu* poetry implies that the poetry is meant
to be sung and accompanied with set actions. This word is not used for *hiva kakala*. Similarly, *fakafasi* which is the verb which describes the adding of the tune to *lakalaka* poetry, is often replaced by *fakatu'ungafasi* when applied to *hiva kakala*. *Fakatu'ungafasi* refers to writing music in the Tongan form of the tonic sol-fa. It is recognized by Tongans that *hiva kakala* can be written this way. The *fasi* of a *ta'anga*, however, cannot be so written because it is not based on Western melodic intervals. The mention of *hiva kakala* does not denote dancing.

535 When *tau'olunga* first came to Tonga it was associated with a
533 particular Samoan song which is still remembered. Songs were then
written in Tongan that were integrally associated with *tau'olunga*. Today any *hiva kakala* can be accompanied by *tau'olunga*. Occasionally a song will be written primarily for *tau'olunga*. These, however, still conform to *hiva kakala* type and all are also performed without dancing.

535 *Tau'olunga*, like all Tongan dance, is determined by the phrase
533 structure of the poetry. Even in *hiva kakala* the poetry is the most
538 important. The poetry is composed and then a melody is sought that
will go with it. Almost without exception the structure follows the strophic form of verse-refrain of some church hymns. Each verse

643 Order; Knight Commander of (the order of) the British Empire; and
Commander of (the order of) the British Empire].

Although much has been written about *kava* ceremonies in Tonga (Pratt
114 1922; Collocott 1927; Gifford 1929; Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941; Newell
276 1947; Lemert 1967; Bott 1972 and Leach 1972) no authors have satisfactorily dealt with the basic question raised by Lemert when he criticized the work of the Beagleholes: no one has explained "why drinking *kava* rather than other beverages continues to function as an integrating force in Tongan life" (1967:190). Lemert pointed out that this is an extremely important question since "home brew" has been available for some time as one "alternative of male interaction." One must also add that there are numerous commercial establishments in Tonga which provide alcoholic beverages which could, theoretically at least, serve as substitutes for *kava* drinking.

Why the persistence of *kava* drinking over the years, both informal
121 consumption (loosely structured) and formal ceremonial consumption (highly structured drinking patterns)? To deal with this question one must combine contemporary ethnographic evidence with accurate ethnohistorical evidence
276 to obtain a diachronic and plausible interpretation. The major point presented in this paper is that *kava* drinking has been the way in which
186 Tongans have maintained their identity. The most important *kava* ceremony
574 in Tonga, the *Taumafa kava* (or monarch's *kava*) continues to provide the
121 major focal point for Tongan unity.[1]

Drinking in Tonga

To place the *Taumafa kava* ceremony into perspective, background
121 information on the drinking of *kava* and alcoholic beverages is in order. With
275 the prerequisite alcohol license, individual Tongans (and non-Tongans residing in Tonga) may purchase alcoholic beverages for consumption off of the premises from major stores in Tonga. The alcoholic beverages may also be
275 partaken of in at least three main "clubs" on Tongatapu. The three clubs on Tongatapu present an intriguing structural pattern of drinking behavior. At
571 one end of a continuum one has the "Tonga Club" which is frequented primarily by Tongan males and only secondarily by some Europeans (males and females). At the other end of a continuum one has the prestigious and exclusive all-male "Nuku'alofa Club" (the second oldest private club in the South Pacific, founded on May 15, 1914). The Nuku'alofa Club is frequented by resident Tongans and non-Tongans and various transient males. One night a year this club is open to members' wives for a dance. The third club has a mediating position on the continuum and is the "Nuku'alofa Yacht and Motor Boat Club." This club is frequented by both Tongans and non-Tongans, males

and females, and may be called the family club in Tonga. Men and women 275
drink side by side, frequent dances and activities are held, and movies are 571
shown for children on some Saturdays and afternoons. No *kava* is served in
any of these clubs and the standard fare is "Fiji Beer" or "Steinlager," scotch 275
and water, gin and tonic, or rum and coke. Alcoholic beverages can also be [276]
purchased for approximately triple the club prices from the various hotels in [279]
the Kingdom.

An intriguing aspect of the Nuku'alofa Yacht and Motor Boat Club was 275
the presence, on numerous occasions, of several Tongans who belonged to 278
Churches whose members were (theoretically) supposed to abstain from
drinking alcoholic beverages. Once they entered the club, however, the rules 795
were changed and they "shouted" drinks with the best of them! When questioned about this seeming inconsistency in their religious beliefs, some Tongans stated that the club was "neutral" territory. This would appear to happen in more than one club as an article pointed out about a political campaign where "just about everything was tried."

> [The Tongan candidate for the Legislative Assembly] approached fellow church-goers in the . . . community but at the same time sported whiskies and Steinlagers at Nuku'alofa bars (Anonymous 1969).[2]

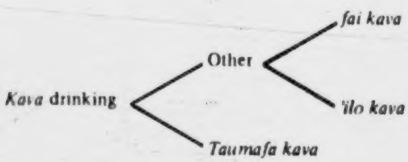
There are numerous *kava* bars throughout the islands of Tonga. In the 275
various *kava* bars, individuals may purchase small coconut shell cups of *kava* which cost a few cents. Just as *kava-palangi* or alcoholic beverages may be purchased in the large stores, *kava Tonga* or small bundles of the root of the *Piper methysticum* may be purchased from the small shops (*fale koloa*, literally "house of riches" or "house of treasure") which are in every village and in Nuku'alofa.

Significance of Kava Drinking

Lemert has written that "Tongans distinguish three types of *kava* 276
drinking" namely [1] *fai-kava*, or the *kava* drinking of the common people; 574
[2] the *'ilo kava*, the honorific term applied to the kava drinking of the *'eiki*
(high ranking individuals); and [3] the *Taumafa kava*, or the monarch's (or 643
Royal) *kava* ceremony (1967:188). This threefold distinction is too fine and I am in agreement with His Royal Highness Tu'i Pelehake, the Premier of Tonga and His Majesty's brother, who has pointed out that "there are two types of *kava* ceremonies, the ordinary *kava* ceremony and the King's *Kava* Ceremony (*Taumafa kava*)" (1955:48). The ceremony known as *'ilo kava* should be seen as a mediating ceremony between the *fai kava* (informal) and *Taumafa kava* (highly formal) ceremonies. For all essential purposes there are only two types of *kava* ceremonies in Tonga: those in which the reigning ruler

276 is present, highly formal, and those in which the reigning ruler is absent, with
574 varying degrees of informality depending on the occasion and the participants
643 (see Figure 1).

Fig. 1 **Kava drinking.**



276 The basic structural feature of any kava drinking session is the same: an
574 elliptically shaped "circle" is formed, with the "guest of honor" at one end of
the circle and the *kava* bowl and *kava* makers at the other end. It is not
necessary to delve into either the pharmacological properties of the *Piper
methysticum* or the ceremony of preparation since both properties and
preparation are adequately covered in the cited literature. It suffices to say
that [1] the *kava* drink is prepared in the *kava* bowl and [2] the *kava* drink is
then distributed to the various seated participants in the *kava* circle according
276 to the established and agreed upon cultural rules. The rules of *kava* drinking
574 now require the first coconut cup (or leaf cup) to be presented to the highest
554 ranking individual present who is the guest of honor. The *matapule* (master of
ceremonies) of the guest of honor, or someone serving in the capacity for the
matapule, then determines the further distribution of the *kava* drinks. *Kava* is
distributed to the next highest ranking individual present (seated closest to
the guest of honor) and then eventually to the lowest ranking individual
present (furthest away from the guest of honor), so that finally all individuals
in the circle, from highest rank to lowest rank, finally receive some *kava.*

In aboriginal and contemporary Tongan society, "rank" was relative to
the particular occasion and this is certainly true for all Tongan *kava* drinking
sessions. It is because of this "relativity of rank" for all occasions that one
can state that there are only two *kava* ceremonies in Tonga: the *Taumafa*
276 *kava* and all others. In the *Taumafa kava* ceremony the reigning ruler is the
574 "presiding chief" and His Majesty currently receives the first bowl of *kava.*
554 All other individuals in the *Taumafa kava* ceremony are then "ranked"
643 accordingly from the King. For every other *kava* drinking situation, when the
King is not present, the order of presentation for the drinking of the first cup
276 of *kava* (and subsequent cups of *kava*) simply depends on who is present on
574
554

that particular occasion. There is no set pattern of *kava* distribution when the 276
King is not there. The only theoretical generalization that one can make for 574
all non-*Taumafa kava* drinking sessions is that "the *kava* is distributed
according to the agreed upon rank of those individuals present." This 554
admittedly low-level generalization is true whether we term all non-*Taumafa kava* sessions either *'ilo kava* ceremonies or *fai-kava* sessions.

For particular non-*Taumafa kava* sessions when individuals cannot agree in advance upon their relative rank *vis-à-vis* one another, they then avoid one another at certain *kava* sessions. For early-contacted Tonga this behavior is quite clear from the account of the French navigator Dumont D'Urville in Tonga 1827. He wrote about the rarity of certain *kava* sessions because of the lack of certain major individuals and:

> above all because of the claims of Palou [also known as Fatukimotulalo, an important and powerful and non-titled individual] and Tahofa [also known as Fae], who took care to avoid any [*kava*] gatherings where they could not occupy the highest place (MS:10).

In contemporary Tonga, elaborate genealogies (both real and fictive) are [601]
often traced out for seating positions in non-*Taumafa kava* sessions. Some
changes have taken place in all *kava* sessions since the advent of Europeans [177]
and, briefly stated, in aboriginal Tongan society the "rank" for a *kava* circle was determined on the basis of the personal rank of the individual whereas in contemporary Tongan society it is the rank of the "title" which an individual has which is the determining factor in seating (and drinking) arrangements.[3]

What is important for all *kava* drinking in Tonga is [1] that it occurs [178]
today and [2] the basic structural features (bowl, circle, and relative order of serving) have remained essentially stable over the years. The non-*Taumafa* 276
kava sessions serve as a "safety valve" for Tongan society and provide a 574
frequent chance to discuss the latest gossip, rumors, or general conversation. 521
The Beagleholes pointed out in their 1941 work that the topics of [182]
conversation in an informal *kava* session frequently deal with:

> the state of cultivation, the gossip and scandal of the village, the strange ways of white people, news and rumour from other villages far and near, actions of government representatives from policemen to high officials, chance remarks from passing acquaintances on the island roads, religious doctrine and dogma, dreams and strange events ... all [of] these and many other topics are considered from every possible angle and point of view (1941:20).

In brief, an informal and small-sized *kava* session is not an extremely 276
spectacular event, much like the drinking in a tavern or bar among good 574
friends. The *Taumafa kava*, on the other hand, provides Tongans with a [643]
particular focal point for their own identity and is discussed below. [186]

Tongans and Europeans

When the Wesleyan Missionaries first arrived in Tonga in the early
276 nineteenth century the role (and fate) of the Christians was often a topic of
574 heated discussion at various *kava* sessions. The following example from a
521 missionary in the islands from August 16, 1822, to October 3, 1823, makes
797 this quite clear:

> 829 At the Cava Ring this morning [Nov. 29, 1822] there were several speeches delivered very prejudicial to our peace. Mafee [making the] Malanga [speech] said that the white people were come as spies and would soon [be] followed by others from England who would take away all Tonga from them. "See, said he, "These people are always praying to their Atuas [*'otua*], as the other Missionaries [of the London Missionary Society in Tonga from 1797 to 1800] were; and what was the consequence of their praying? Why, the wars broke out and all the old chiefs were killed." Malabow one of the Matabolles related his dream, the burden of which was that the old chiefs came back from Boolotoo last night, and seeing the fencing of our garden, said, "What is that?" They were answered, "It is the white people's Ahey [*'api*], or place of abode." Upon which, they became much displeased, and said, "The white people will pray you all dead." Much more to the same purpose was said in the Cava ring party. The multitude believed all and are much dissatisfied with us (Walter: November 29, 1822).

In the nineteenth century, *kava* drinking sessions were a way of
276 discussing current affairs and maintaining Tongan unity in the face of
574 missionary influence on Tongan life. One European non-missionary observer
797 of nineteenth century Tongan life wrote:

> [521]
> [186] The practise of kava-drinking seems to be falling much into disuse, particularly among the Christians, who are not encouraged to continue it by the [Wesleyan] missionaries (Erskine 1853:149).

The missionaries were opposed to *kava* drinking yet the Tongans continued drinking. The *kava* ceremonies clarified the basic cultural problems (and rules) of Tongan society and, as such, the ceremonies were difficult to
276 eliminate. John Thomas, a Wesleyan missionary in the islands from 1826 to
574 1850 and again from 1855 to 1859, also provides us with some information
797 concerning the discussions at the *kava* ceremonies regarding the missionaries:

> 521 The King was not at school this morning. Several others were [also] kept away at a cava party. I learned from an Englishman at this place that various things are talked about [at the kava parties] of an unfavourable nature respecting us, calculated to grieve us if we were strangers to the devices of Satan and the fallen state of the heathen [or non-Wesleyan Tongans]. But we leave these things to the Lord who will give us strength (1830 Letter-Journal).

In aboriginal times, and this would be true for early-contacted Tonga as 276
well as contemporary Tonga, informal *kava* sessions took place not only for 574
general discussions, but also took place at various points in the life cycle.
Kava ceremonies played an important part in celebrating births, weddings, 764
and funerals. Aoyagi (1966:167-172) and Newell (1947:404) point this out [851]
for the twentieth century and as one nineteenth century non-missionary [585]
observer noted:

> Breakfasted at Thomas Wright's: heard there of the death of the chief Luaka: went to see the funeral ceremony. The cava rings were formed (Bays 1831:121).

His Royal Highness Tu'i Pelehake has pointed out that *kava* drinking provides 276
"a seal on all occasions" whether they be formal gatherings or informal 574
gatherings (1955:48). When a person of importance visited somewhere, a *kava*
session was held to honor the individual. When the above mentioned Dumont 276
D'Urville landed at Tongatapu in 1827 he reported: 574

> Soon after our arrival at the anchorage, a native came to present me 609
> with a great ceremony a green branch of kava (piper methysticum). Singleton [a European residing in the islands since 1806], whom I questioned about the reason for this gift, informed me that this branch had been sent to me by the old queen Tuoi-Tonga-Fafine, and that in doing so she did me a great honour. The branch put the ship under the protection of the gods of the country and would guarantee it against any misfortune. Consequently I received the sacred branch with respect and I had it planted in a spot within view of the ship, which seemed to please the natives who witnessed the ceremony (MS: 1a)

The presentation of the root was a prelude to an elaborate *kava* ceremony which the French navigator subsequently took part in and which served as a "seal of approval" for his visit.[4]

In addition to *kava* ceremonies being important in the particular life 276
cycle of the individual, *kava* ceremonies also play an important role in the 574
organization of Tongan society in general. *Kava* ceremonies took place when 554
individuals received their titles in Tongan society or when they were stripped
from their title for some reason. When an individual is installed into a chiefly [558]
position, the essence of the installation, as Collocott has accurately pointed out, "is the calling into his place into the *kava*-ring, to receive his cup by his new title" (1927:38).

In 1938, for example, His Majesty King Taufa'ahu̇a Tupou IV (then the 276
Crown Prince) took part in an elaborate *pongipongi* ceremony when he 574
received the title of Tupouto'a:

> The Kava ceremony occupied two hours and was presided over by 644
> Queen Salote [Tupou III]. The [Crown] Prince was officially recognized as Tubouto'a and his position in respect of the *Kava* rings was confirmed when he drank a bowl of *kava* in his new name. . . . The *Kava* ring was composed of 150 Chiefs and Matabules (Masters of

> 276 574 644 [651] Ceremony) from the whole of the [Island] Group. . . . After the *Kava* Ceremony came the presentation of food. This was Tubouto'a's mark of homage and allegiance to the Sovereign, and is a relic of the old custom of the "Inasi" (presentation of the first fruits of the land to the Tu'i Toga) (Anonymous 1938:43-44).

276 574 644 643 An excellent description of the installation of the individual who was to become known as King George Tupou I is provided by John Thomas and points out the "seal of approval" in the ceremony of drinking *kava*:

> The ceremony of appointing to [the] office [of *Tu'i Kanokupolu*] took place at a cava-meeting. The cava has been considered sacred; and ALMOST EVERYTHING TO BE SETTLED IN THESE ISLANDS IS DONE AT A CAVA MEETING, at which great order is observed [STRESS added] (Thomas 1845:156).

554 565 In aboriginal Tongan society (and early contacted Tongan society prior to the celebrated Tongan Constitution of 1875) consensus and flexibility were key concepts in the relationship between the ruler and the ruled (Urbanowicz 1973:114-115). An individual who wanted to be a chief of a particular group of people had to have not only the consent of the people but also of the [643] fellow chiefs. Even the *Tu'i Tonga*, one of the leading titled individuals in Tongan society, could not be appointed to his position without the support and consent of the *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua* or (later) the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. If a particular chief did not have the support of other chiefs, he could lose his title and position in Tongan society.

558 727 In 1840, some battles took place on Tongatapu which resulted in two chiefs having their titles removed. The *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Jiosaia Tupou and King George Tupou met and Thomas recorded the event:

> 565 After this [meeting] the two Kings met with their chiefs and did depose Ata and another chief [called by the title] Vahi (the latter has been the cause of the wars) and appointed a new Ata and Vahai in their place (Thomas *Journal*: February 14, 1830).

The former *Ata* had land on Tongatapu Island and this was also removed from him and transferred to the new *Ata* (Rabone *Journal*: February 28, [276] [574] 1840). Although there is no extant evidence which specifically mentions the *kava* ceremony which accompanied this particular "title removal" it undoubtedly took place. The following account makes this clear concerning 558 798 another individual who lost his title at another point in time because of his Wesleyan beliefs:

> 276 574 This morning about 1 o'clock we were aroused from a sleep by a messenger from Beka where the [Wesleyan] Chapel was opened last week, who came to say that a persecuting party had arrived there, and they supposed it was to dispose of [the titled individual known as] Tuivakano for having embraced Christianity, and drove the Christian party from their homes. Messengers have been going to Beka, and

> coming to our Chief all day to state how things were going on. Old 558
> Vaea of Houma was the principal person in the Party, AND AFTER
> CEREMONIES OF DRINKING KAVA WERE BEGUN, HE STATED 798
> THAT HIS OBJECT WAS TO APPOINT ANOTHER TUIVAKANO 276
> because this one had embraced Christianity, and that as he himself had 574
> not embraced Christianity he wished still to have a Tuivakano that he
> might serve. (This with other observations make me think that the affair is not only a Chiefdom, but somewhat Idolatrous). He wished to be understood as not intending any persecution, but as only anxious to follow up the former service of the Gods, and that as there were some Idolatrous houses in the fortifications, he thought proper that William [Tui'i Vakano] should leave it lest any disrespect should be shown or violence be used to the Idol temples, if the term be not too grand for them. THEY THEREFORE PREPARED THE KAVA WHICH WAS TO BE DRUNK AT THE CEREMONY OF HIS DISMISSAL FROM THE OFFICE, AND CHIEFDOM, AND THE APPOINTMENT OF HIS SUCCESSOR. The Kava is always taken to the persons composing the Party by particular direction of the principal person in the company, and when the waiter gave notice that the bowl was full, old Vaea said "Let Vaea mo Mataello Tuivakano (former name) go down and let Tuivakano come up. THIS WAS THE OFFICIAL SENTENCE WHICH CONSTITUTED HIM NO LONGER TUIVAKANO AND HE INSTANTLY LEFT FOR ANOTHER PART OF THE KAVA RING. Soon after this, old Maafu and Lavaka two chiefs still heathen [or non-Wesleyan], who made the greatest figure in the persecution last year, arrived at the fortifications, and this evening we have heard that Vaea mo Mataele NOW NO LONGER TUIVAKANO shall leave Beka, with all the Christian people [All STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: September 12, 1835).

Not only were individuals installed as leaders in Tongan society or removed 425
from their positions of authority at a *kava* ceremony, but land was also 276
apportioned out in aboriginal times during certain *kava* ceremonies. As 574
another nineteenth century Wesleyan Missionary reported: 634

> This has been a very important day. At the *Kava* ring this morning, two or three Malagas, or speeches were delivered, after which the whole island [of Tongatapu] was divided into different provinces and persons appointed to govern in subjection to the King [*Tu'i Kanokupolu* Jiosaia Tupou]. This is an ancient custom revived (Tucker 1837).[5]

The various *kava* ceremonies in aboriginal Tongan society served a 276
variety of purposes. *Kava* ceremonies could be held just to share information 574
and opinions but they also served to provide a "seal of approval" on more
important functions, such as title installation or removal or the division of 178
land. The drinking of *kava* always was an important aspect of Tongan life and over the years has been the major way in which Tongans have shared and
discussed social activities. *Kava* drinking has been the way that Tongans [186]
maintained their own cultural identity in the face of cultural (namely "religious") colonialism.

651 Tonga in approximately June, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV now
178 opens the Tonga Legislative Assembly with a formal speech. In *lieu* of the
'inasi 'ufimotu'a ceremony which took place in approximately the Septem-
643 ber-November period, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV now travels to
644 the various islands in the archipelago for the official opening of the yearly
646 agriculture shows. The role of the *'inasi* in the past has thus been taken over
543 (or has been substituted) by Legislative Assembly activities and the yearly
agriculture shows.

The formal closing of the Legislative Assembly also takes place in
643 approximately the same time period as the yearly agriculture shows.
644 However, it is His Majesty's travelling to the various islands for the agriculture
646 shows and the inevitable formal *Taumafa kava* ceremony which takes place
484 on each island which serves as the new (and extremely necessary) focal point
543 for Tongan unity. The opening and closing speeches by His Majesty to the
276 Legislative Assembly focus around Tongs's accomplishments and hopes for
the future. The speeches to the assembled individuals serve the same function
574 as the speeches given at the *'inasi* BUT it is the activities associated with the
[186] agricultural shows with the formal *Taumafa kava* which provide the
contemporary "seal of approval" on Tongan life.

The individual island shows last for several days and the circuit of the
543 entire archipelago for all of the shows can last several weeks. The shows are
484 complete with dancing, the presentation of foodstuffs to His Majesty (for
643 redistribution to the Royal Party), and involve the judging of livestock, crops,
traditional Tongan handicrafts (including *kava* bowls, Tongan "wooden
[526] pillows" or *kali*, and fine mats). Competition between various individuals
(and villages) takes place in the form of soccer, horse and bicycle racing,
foodstuff and fine mat presentation.

In brief, what was once performed on the Island of Tongatapu under
178 the rubric of the *'inasi* ceremony now takes place on the various islands under
651 the rubric of "yearly agriculture show."

543 The *'inasi* was a combination of "public amusement" and "religious
543 observance" and the agriculture shows today are a combination of amuse-
[651] ment and religious re-dedication to the land. Speeches at the agriculture
shows deal with the accomplishments of the previous agricultural year and
[537] the role of religion in Tongan life. When His Majesty travels to each of the
543 shows on the various islands (Niua'fou, Niuatoputapu, Vava'u, Ha'apai, and
643 'Eua) the traditional homages are accorded him on each of the islands: dances
276 are performed, baked food is given as a welcome, and the eventual *Taumafa*
574 *kava* takes place. The *Taumafa kava*, with His Majesty as the guest of honor at
[186] the various islands, provides all assembled Tongans with a sense of belonging
to Tonga. His Majesty is accompanied by special *matapules* who see that the
[644] *kava* circle is arranged properly. His Majesty receives the first bowl of *kava*
and then the other assembled island dignitaries receive theirs, in descending

order of rank. The contemporary *Taumafa kava* at the shows provides 543
Tongans with observable and symbolic Tongan unity of a regular basis. 643

The *Taumafa kava* is not only important at the yearly shows, but it also 276
played a key part of His Majesty's installation as Monarch in 1967. The 1967 574
ceremony provided the entire archipelago with the essence of Tonga. A "dual
installation" actually took place. A formal European-type installation was 643
held on the 4th of July but on the 6th of July the *Taumafa kava* circle 276
consisting of some 290 important Tongans was created to provide the "seal of 574
approval" on His Majesty's installation. Of the 1967 event Grosvenor has 644
pointed out:

> Two days after the Christian coronation [on July 4], the Tongan 643
> monarch sat down in a circle with his chiefs for the kava ceremony. 276
> Outsiders are not invited to this ancient rite in which the chiefs
> acknowledge him as King. . . . THE CEREMONIAL DRINKING OF 574
> KAVA FORMALIZES TONGAN ANNOUNCEMENTS AND TITLES 644
> (1968:343). 186

Another view of the 1967 installation and coronation is provided by Inder:

> There were two [coronations]. There was a Westminister Abbey-type spectacle on the Tuesday, when they dressed in ermine, brocades, coronets, medals, three-cornered hats and toppers, cutaways, and striped morning suits of Victorian vintage. Then there was the *taumafakava*, or traditional installation, on the Thursday, when the king and his nobles and *matapules* – with mats around their middles – formed a great egg-shaped kava ring so the king could hear them pay him allegiance in Polynesian fashion. For Tongans, both installations were a success. . . . For most Tongans the kava ceremony is the real installation of the king. From all the outlying islands the chiefs had come to drink kava with their monarch, and thus the ordinary man in Tonga was left in no doubt of the authority of his chiefs. They were the men who had sealed their order in the great kava ring.
>
> There had been two rehearsals for the chapel ceremony, both private, and there was one for the royal kava installation, the previous week. This rehearsal was a vital one, for at it, in the absence of the king, the nobles and the matapules had argued out the strict order of seniority (1967:45-47).[8]

The *Taumafa kava*, whether it takes place at installation ceremonies or 643
yearly agricultural shows, is the way in which Tongans have maintained (and 276
continue to perpetuate) their cultural identity. No less a personage than the 574
Honorable V'ahala (a leading authority on Tongan traditions and Governor of 186
Ha'apai) has stated about the *Taumafa kava* ceremony that:

> Before the Christian faith came to this country, the organizing of the country relied mostly on this ceremony which was a meeting place for the people. In this circle the Traditions, Cultures, and Customs were taught and discussed . . . [Translation provided by the Tongan Traditions Committee] (1959:4).

643 The *Taumafa kava* ceremony helps to maintain Tongan culture to this day.
276 With increasing change, Tongans are maintaining their cultural identity by
means of [1] increased informal *kava* consumption and [2] creation of the
574 "agricultural shows" with the accompanying formal *Taumafa kava* ceremony.
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[543]

Conclusions

121 The question was raised "why the persistence of *kava* drinking over the
years and the apparent increase and interest in *kava* consumption since
276 alcoholic beverages are readily available?" The interpretations presented in
178 this paper stress that [1] *kava* drinking of all types has been the way in which
Tongans have maintained their cultural identity over the years; [2] *kava*
121 drinking has provided and continues to provide an important "safety valve"
276 feature which allows for informal discussion of contemporary problems;
178 [3] *kava* drinking provides a necessary "seal of approval" on virtually all
186 important Tongan events, from birth to death in the life cycle; and [4] *kava*
drinking is decidedly "Tongan" as opposed to the *kava-palangi* of non-
182 Tongans. Tongans prefer to identify with Tongans rather than identify with
non-Tongans.

276 There are two types of *kava* drinking in Tonga: those occasions on
which the reigning Monarch is absent and those occasions on which the
574 Monarch is present. The presence of the reigning Monarch constitutes a
643 *Taumafa kava* and it is the only occasion when one can predict with any
certainty as to the serving order of the *kava*. The precedence of serving for all
non-*Taumafa kava* sessions (whether termed *fai-kava* or *'ilo kava*) depend on
the occasion and those present.

121 As Tongans continue to undergo rapid change in the latter third of the
twentieth century, one can predict a continued increase in *kava* consumption
276 since *kava* drinking is the focal point for the maintenance and perpetuation of
186 Tongan unity and identity. One observes this increase in the activities
[543] concerning the yearly agricultural shows.

A *kava* drinking session is a model of Tongan society and the scale of
the model merely shifts as on goes from the various non-*Taumafa kava*
sessions to the *Taumafa kava* ceremony. Increasing *kava* consumption
patterns are a reflection of a greater (and growing) awareness of what it
means to be a Tongan in the twentieth century. Paraphrasing Oliver, Tongans
appear Western but have remained Tongan (1962:179), or as Inder stated
concerning the dual features of His Majesty's 1967 coronation, "Thus, in the
end, Tongan and Western influences shared the billing, as usual, the Tongan
121 way the more dominant" (1967:47). When the ratio between *kava* consump-
276 tion patterns and alcoholic consumption patterns shifts towards a prepon-
273 derance of alcohol consumption, Tonga will indeed have some problems for

this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has 121
shifted. 276
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NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the 121
Association for Socail Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a
Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was 186
conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 574
1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major
libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in 276
the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia. [101]
2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the
"Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, [127]
and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should
be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling 275
beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid 273
essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays.
3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973: 114. 795
4. Tongans not only presented *kava* roots to important individuals but also took *kava* [527]
roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands
from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan] [656]
Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [*sic.*] island it was
their custom to take large pieces of *kava* for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they 276
used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b).
5. A similar detailed description from Hobbs supports the idea of title removal and land 574
distribution at a kava ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took 554
place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Jiosaia] Tubou presided of 113
course as the Tui-kanokubolu. Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and
all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to 276
come and attend before our people and Taufa-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still]
refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL 574
OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE 609
TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE[N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN
THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion; and the principal
things affected by this appointment are as follows: Old Fatu who was the Ist heathen 425
[or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the
Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed 276
Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY 574
THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SEMI AND FOKE as Tuihaamea, because the fortress 634
at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: April 22, 1837).
6. I witnessed a *Taumata kava* ceremony on the island of 'Eua over the period 558
14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal
part on *H.M.V. Kao*. Enroute to 'Eua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of 651
some four hours, I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five 178
minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (on just about
everything under the Tongan sun, including *kava*). Much of my thinking about *kava* 543
has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous 643
discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks. I also took part in numerous kava 123
ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.
7. The *'inasi* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan 115
society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970: 134; and 276
Sahlins 1958: 24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, 574
agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

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776
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[171]
[433]

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

or *'ufi* was the main crop and W. Cross wrote "the yam is a vegetable that is to the
651 inhabitants of Tonga, what bread is to many in our native land" (Cross 1830a). The
643 aboriginal Tongan names of the respective parts of the year were based on the lunar
month and thirteen separately designated time periods (Dyson *Papers 1858-1908*
776 April 7, 1863). These names clearly show the importance of the yam to the Tongans
782 and Thomas wrote that the month of June was termed "Hilinga kelekele" by the
Tongans and that "they expect the soil to produce forth now" and of the yams at
241 this time of the year that they are "the earliest and the best yams." For the month of
805 October, Thomas wrote "Ooloo enga - Uluega" which is *'Ulenga* for "ooloo, the
head, enga yellow" and at this time the yams "became yellow" (Thomas 1827 no
page).

643 8. This same aspect of a "dual installation" also took place when His Majesty's mother,
Queen Salote Tupou III, was installed as Queen in 1918 (after the death of her father,
276 King George Tupou II). As Collocott pointed out: "a coronation ceremony in the
574 European model was followed by a native installation with appropriate kava
ceremony on the mala'e at Nuku'alofa" (1927:38).
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1830b [MS.] *Letter-Journal*, entry of July 24. Microfilm FM4/1417, reel 26; photocopy in A2837. Mitchell Library, Sydney (original in London).

154 602 166 "I would stay even if I had no job. My sister is here."

464 Although an uneducated migrant probably has more difficulty in obtaining employment, migrants with secondary education have no more difficulty than the locally-born. The migrant's prospects for employment depend, along with all Tongans, on his education and the extent and importance of his kin. Migrants tend to be less involved in agriculture because they have more difficulty in obtaining registered land. They are, therefore, slightly more active in commerce, the produce boards, in certain tertiary areas and in a miscellanea of backyard jobs which are termed part-manufacturing and processing.

156 [186] [171] Most migrants intend to remain in Nuku'alofa and tend to feel they belong there. The reasons for "belonging" are illuminating and should further discredit the view that Polynesians have some sort of mystic attachment to their place of birth, an attachment which supposedly outweighs more mundane considerations. "I belong to Nuku'alofa because I can support my children here", was how one informant expressed his feelings, while another in a much more sweeping statement merely said, "Nuku'alofa has everything". 602 Belonging to Nuku'alofa does not, however, mean that the migrant severs his ties with the home island. He belongs more to his family than to a place. It was the institution of the family which supported him on arrival in Nuku'alofa and, once established and part of the family chain, he now 602 431 574 assists close relations who remain on the home island. Gifts and visits were exchanged by over three-quarters of those interviewed (see Table IV) and most not participating in such contact either had no close relation remaining in the home island or were young people whose obligations were for the present assumed by older brothers or sisters living in Nuku'alofa. This contact is reciprocal and only stops with the death or migration of the close relations involved.

Table IV

Close Family Gifts and Visits between Islands

	Yes	No	Not Stated
Gifts to Islands	39	18	-
Gifts from Islands	31	24	2
Visits to Islands	41	16	-
Visits from Islands	42	15	-
Number in Sample 57			

369 It is the migrant, through his kin, who maintains the closest cultural links between town and country in Tonga. As considerably more than a half of the town's population is so involved, it is not surprising that rural and peasant modes and concepts continue to flow

794 183 garded highly by others, and even whether or not he is regarded as a
554 good marriage prospect.

794 Because of the importance of the Church in Tongan villages and in
554 the larger society, most men try to achieve position within it. In
[793] Puke there is no ordained minister but fourteen of the village men are
[875] lay preachers (tangata malanga); one of these lay ministers acts as
[565] Sunday school teacher. The recognized head of the village church is
the noble, who is also one of the lay preachers.

The church reflects several important aspects of village life and the seating arrangement as shown in Figure 1[A] illustrates several principles of Tongan behavior. Village leaders are seated close to the pulpit, the noble is seated so that he is above and separated from the rest of the congregation, and the age and sex divisions are also apparent.

794 There are several indications of the importance of the church in
793 the community. The congregation of the Puke church attempts to have an
554 574 ordained minister come and deliver a sermon at least once a month. On
such an occasion the visiting minister receives treatment appropriate
[276] to a noble. Kava is prepared for him prior to the church service and
a feast contributed to by most members of the community is held after
the service. His advice and comments on church affairs, politics,
technology, and any other subject are closely attended and almost always
accepted as the best available.

794 Another indication of the importance of the church is its schedule of activities and the fact that all activities are well attended. Below I have presented the usual weekly church schedule, which does not include

[A] [See p. 34--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

The Sociology of Food

262 (114) Maude (1965) presents a good description of Tongan garden products, but being interested in other matters he included only scant information on the relationship between food and the social aspects of Tongan life. (574) (554) Food is ranked just as are most aspects of culture important in Tongans, and feasts are important occasions where the ranking of food should match the ranking of those who partake of it.

Tongans divide food into three major, unranked groups: kiki 'flesh', me'akai 'starchy tubers', and foi'akau 'fruits'. Food as a whole is referred to as kai or me'akai. The three major divisions described above are not ranked, a complete meal requiring all three. Individual components of the kiki group and the me'akai group are ranked as to their importance. Ranking varies somewhat from individual to individual, particularly among the least prestigious components. Below I have listed what seems to be a fairly consistent rank ordering of the me'akai and kiki groups:

	Kiki	
1.	puaka	- pork (highest rank)
2.	pulu	- beef
3.	kosi	- goat
4.	moa	- chicken
5.	'ika	- fish

	Me'akai	
1.	'ufi	- yam (highest rank)
2.	'ufilei	- sweet yam
3.	kumala	- sweet potato
4.	talo	- taro
5.	kape	- giant taro
6.	mei	- breadfruit
7.	manioke	- cassava
8.	hopa	- plantain

262 554 The composition of a family's diet is very much an indicator of status. For instance, a man who continually brings only bananas and

262 [137] [126] Yams are the other major prestige food and Whitcombe (1930) lists 121 varieties distinguished by Tongans. Most of these varieties are Dioscorea alata and a few varieties are Dioscorea esculenta. In the village of Puke I collected the names of 40 varieties. Yam varieties are distinguished and ranked by the criteria of size, shape, color, firmness, and growing patterns. The yams most prized are white, large, and cylindrical in shape.

574 262 574 262 554 Feasts usually take place in a house or under a constructed shade. The food is placed on plaited coconut frond platters (pola) and set down end-to-end on the ground. The platter with the largest pig or pigs and the best yams is placed in front of the postion occupied by the highest ranking person present. The further down the line of food from that position, the less prestigious the food so that at the end opposite the highest ranking guests, there may be only sweet potatoes and fish.

The quality of a feast is described by the size and number of pigs and yams served, but the quantity of a feast is described by the number of platters utilized. Ranking at a feast is based on societal rank, not kinship rank. For instance, if there is a noble present he will be given the position at the head of the line of platters and then all others will form a line down the sides with perhaps ministers and older men sitting closest to the noble, moving down to the youngest man of no position. After these people have finished eating, a second group, usually consisting of women and children, will take their places.

574 Christmas, New Years, the Sabbath, and the several national holiday of
[527] Tonga such as the King's birthday. Feasting is also important at funer-
als, farewells, and welcomings. Each feast may be viewed as small-scale
574 571 redistribution where many individulas may be asked to contribute food
and are also asked to attend. For the feast-giver there is the prestige
and reward of obligating others to him. The social units participating
in the preparation of a feast vary from the members of one household to
an entire village. In Puke one of the basic reasons for village divi-
sion is to facilitate the preparation of feasts for village guests, par-
ticularly churchmen. Each of the divisions takes its turn in rotation.

The Modes of Transaction

128 In this section I will describe the types of transactions used in
the flow of goods and services and try to establish the relative impor-
tance of each. Possibly the most outstanding feature of this aspect of
432 178 the Tongan economy is the integration of modern market modes of trans-
actions with the traditional forms of reciprocity. Buying and selling
432 is still a relatively new idea in Tonga and there is some social stigma
178 443 attached to persons who engage in such activities. Persons selling food
558 are frequently the topic of gossip as Tongans wonder why the seller is
626 not giving the food. A common ploy used by vendors of foodstuff is to
use children as the salesmen; this tactic helps prevent gossip and re-
moves the vendor from a situation in which he might be asked to reduce
his price for kinsmen and friends or even freely give the merchandise.

437 438 628 Group exchanges between villages are fairly common late in the year and women are always the major participants. A group of women (kautaha fefine) will form several months before the exchange and begin preparations; usually this involves the production of handicrafts or raising money to purchase the desired items. The details of the exchange are most likely arranged by a person or persons with kinsmen in the other [574] village. The exchange takes place in the context of a visitation with feasting and singing being important ingredients.

These group exchanges also seem to take on the function of providing rural isolated villages with items available through the market economy and providing groups from urban areas with more traditional forms of wealth to which they no longer have unlimited access. Couper (1968) [171] found this pattern to be strongly developed in Fiji where urban dwellers were providing their country-kin with Western items and receiving traditional, indigenously produced goods.

437 438 177 628 In Tonga I was only able to record detailed information on one such exchange. The exchange involved a village near Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu, having high access to Western goods and a village in the Ha'apai group, which is one of the more isolated areas in the Kingdom. The Tongatapu [574] group made the one-day trip by boat to Ha'apai and stayed for four days. At the conclusion one of the women from Tongatapu married a Ha'apai man, but that is not a typical feature of group exchanges.

The Tongan term for 'trade' is fefakatau'aki, or 'to trade' is fai fakatau. The items being traded are termed kātoanga, kātoa meaning 'all' or 'the entirety'. The exchange usually takes place outdoors and the

437 438 two groups of goods are stacked on the ground. Speeches are appropriate
177 before the exchange with each group praising the offerings of the other.
628 [537] Below I have listed the items exchanged on the occasion mentioned
earlier.

Tongatapu Village Gave	Ha'apai Village Gave
300 sheets of 9-foot corrugated iron	11 40-foot fibu 'fine mats'
21 full length tapas	24 15-foot " "
24 bars of laundry soap	38 12-foot " "
1 box of cabin biscuits	29 10-foot " "
1 sewing machine	67 single thickness mats
12 dinner plates	40 papa 'floor mats'
2 bed covers	8 ta'ovala 'woven waistbands'
piece goods	200 salt fish
$T26.00 in cash	2 goats

With the exception of the tapa given by the Tongatapu group, all of their goods were non-traditional items available through the market economy. All of the Ha'apai goods were indigenously produced, and the bulk of the goods were fine mats, a traditional item of wealth and prestige.

Redistribution

651 554 First fruits (polopolo) are given to nobles and high ranking female
431 relatives, both sisters and fathers' sisters. This is particularly ap-
propriated at the time of the first harvest of a yam garden (pa'ala),
651 but also for other garden products, fish, and meat. In pre-contact
178 Tonga a society-wide system of redistribution was based on the giving of
431 first fruits, collected and dispensed at an annual religious ceremony
431 (Sahlins 1950: 24-25). In modern Tonga redistribution exists in the
178 764 574

431 178 context of feasting; the most obvious example is the Tongan funeral. 764 [574] Mourners bring pigs, vegetables, and bread which are prepared by low ranking kinsmen of the deceased. Some of the food is consumed at the funeral, but most is divided into individual parcels and given to the [565] mourners as they leave. Nobles still possess the power to amass large amounts of food for feasting occasions by demanding it of their relatives and the commoners who live on their estates.

Parameters of Reciprocity

128 Sample B as described in Chapter I consists of 604 exchange events. 571 All of these exchange events can be considered as instances of reciprocity. Here reciprocity only means that the exchange event is based on the social relationship of the principals involved, rather than on an economic relationship. This sample of 604 exchanges will be used in Chapter VI to establish the behavioral pattern found in kinship reciprocity. Below I will describe certain other characteristics of the sample.

431 It is quite acceptable to solicit gifts and 'to ask for a gift or some other favor' is kole. In 26 percent of the 604 cases recorded the gift was solicited and in 74 percent of the cases the item was offered. In 7 percent of the cases, the transactions were associated with some "special occasion" such as wedding, funeral, or some type of celebration feast. The great proportion of these transactions, then, were [571] made in the course of daily patterns of interaction rather than in the context of extraordinary events.

121 disguised representation of unconscious thoughts and wishes. A ceremony is a condensed and partially disguised representation of certain aspects of social life. A dream and a ceremony both serve a double and contradictory function: they release and communicate dangerous thoughts and emotions; but at the same time they disguise and transform them so that the element of danger is contained and to some extent dealt with. An effective ceremony protects society from destructive forms of conflict; an effective dream protects the sleeper from anxiety.

Of course there are important differences between a dream and a ceremony. A dream is the product of an individual; a ceremony is the product of a group. Dreams reflect unconscious thoughts. Some of the ideas and emotions expressed in ceremonies are unconscious, but many others are not so much unconscious as unformulated. Just as one can speak a language correctly without being able to formulate its grammatical rules, so one can play one's part in social life and in a ceremony without understanding how all the parts and principles fit together. Further, many of the symbolic statements made in a ceremony concern social norms and values of which the participants are consciously aware.

276 The basic events of the kava ceremony are very simple. A
574 group of people pound up the root of a kava plant, mix it with
178 water, and drink it. But all this is done according to a fixed ceremonial procedure that has hardly varied for at least 160 years. We have a good description of the ceremony dating from 1806 (Mariner, 1818, vol. 2, pp. 172–96) and the verbal orders and the actions performed have hardly changed at all, with one important exception. The kava root used to be chewed and then mixed with water, whereas nowadays it is pounded with stones.

The botanical name of the kava plant is *Piper methysticum*. It
276 contains several chemical constituents and there is considerable
[137] controversy about their physiological effects. The general conclusions are that it has a slight tranquillizing and anaesthetic action, though the effects are very mild. Tongans, however,

treat kava as if it were strong stuff. And so it is, but the strength 276
comes from society, not from the vegetable kingdom.[3]

Before I describe the ceremony, here are a few background
facts about the Kingdom. Tonga is a Polynesian society con- 105
sisting of about 150 small islands with a population of about [161]
70,000 people. It has a Treaty of Friendship with Great [648]
Britain, but has always been independent, never a colony, a
fact of which Tongans are very proud. The people have been [779]
Christian for 130 years and virtually everyone can read and [212]
write. Tongans practise subsistence farming on small holdings, [241]
with coconuts and bananas as the main cash crops. There are [434]
no extremes of wealth or poverty. For the past 100 years [642]
government has assumed the form of a constitutional mon-
archy. Anyone who saw Queen Sālote of Tonga at the corona-
tion of Queen Elizabeth in 1953 will not be likely to forget
her. She is as memorable in Tonga as she is in Britain. She died [643]
in December 1965 and was succeeded by her eldest son, the
present King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CEREMONY

The basic form of the kava ceremony is always the same, though 276
it may vary from a small informal gathering of four or five 574
people to a huge assemblage of several hundred people. It can be dressed up or down as the occasion requires. It takes place on many different sorts of occasion: when men visit each other just to talk; when welcoming home relatives who have been away; in courtship; at weddings; at certain points in a funeral; at the appointment of a king and later on at his coronation; and similarly at the appointment of a chief and on the occasion when he first presents himself and his villagers to his King.

Figures 1 and *2* show the seating at an informal and at a
formal ceremony. The participants sit cross-legged, with the 276
chief whose title is genealogically the most senior at the head of 574
the circle. He has an official called a matāpule on either side of 565 [516]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 210]

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●574
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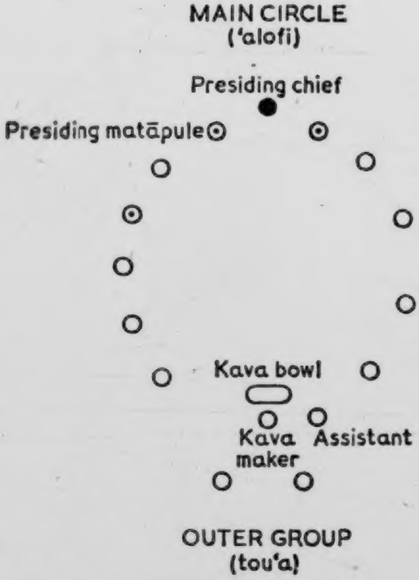
Figure 1 Schematic diagram of seating at small informal kava ceremony


MAIN CIRCLE
('alofi)
Presiding chief
Presiding matāpule
Kava bowl
Kava maker
Assistant
OUTER GROUP
(tou'a)

●	Chiefly titles	Titles are hereditary in the male line. Traditionally chiefs held political authority, most of which was transferred to central government at the time of the modern constitution, in 1875
⊙	Matāpule titles	Ceremonial attendants of chiefs. Matāpule titles are hereditary in the male line.
○	Non-titleholders	

[p. 208]

81: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

Figure 2 Schematic diagram of seating at formal royal kava ceremony

276
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565
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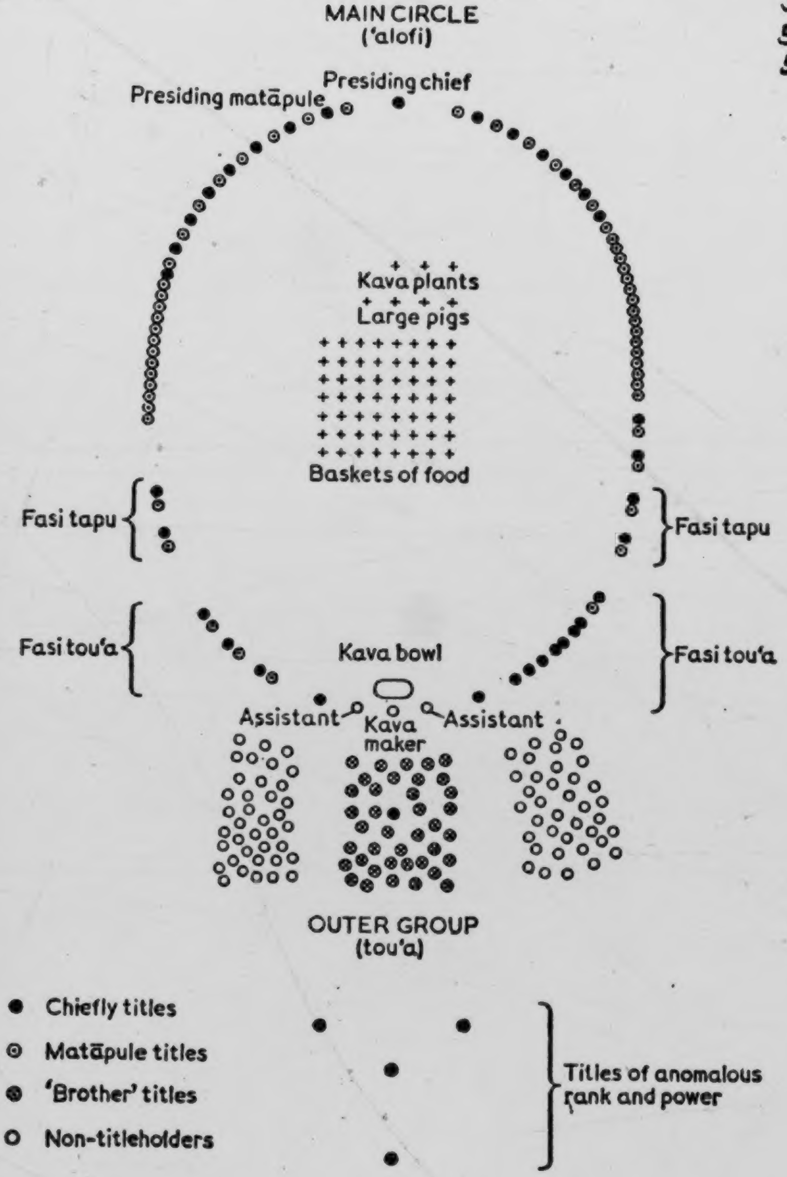
MAIN CIRCLE
('alofi)
Presiding chief
Presiding matāpule
Kava plants
Large pigs
Baskets of food
Fasi tapu
Fasi tapu
Fasi tou'a
Kava bowl
Fasi tou'a
Assistant
Kava maker
Assistant
OUTER GROUP
(tou'a)
Chiefly titles
Matāpule titles
'Brother' titles
Non-titleholders
Titles of anomalous rank and power

[p. 209]

276 him. These matāpule are the hereditary ceremonial attendants
574 of chiefs, their duties being to conduct their chief's kava cere-
565 mony and to give and receive gifts on his behalf. The matāpule
have never held political authority. The chiefly title holders, on the other hand, used to have political authority, though nowadays much of it has been transferred to the central government.

The rest of the main circle (*'alofi*) is composed of other chiefs and matāpule sitting alternately. There are always more matāpule than chiefs, however, so that after the first few places matāpule sit next to one another. In the part of the main circle nearest the bowl (*fasi tapu* and *fasi tou'a*) some chiefs and matāpule sit in pairs, and some minor chiefs sit on their own.

In theory the seating of the various chiefs in the main circle demonstrates the genealogical position of their titles relative to that of the presiding chief. The title of the presiding chief is supposed to be genealogically senior, and the other chiefly titles in the main circle are supposed to have been derived from
[622] his line at later points in time. Although each chiefly titleholder
sits as an individual, he also represents the village over which
[622] he has titular authority. In Tongan idiom he is more than a
representative; the title is the embodiment of the village and its history.

In a large formal ceremony all the people in the main circle
276 have to have been formally appointed to chiefly or matāpule
574 titles. Women, who do not normally hold titles or wield political
565 authority, thus do not sit in the main circle. (The Queen, who
562 held the ruling title, Tu'i Kanokupolu, was of course an excep-
554 tion to this general rule. In the traditional system kings and
[643] chiefs were almost invariably men, but British rules of succes-
[177] sion to the kingship were adopted in 1875.) In a small informal
ceremony the people in the main circle do not have to have been formally appointed to titles; they can use the name of a matāpule title they are descended from, or, failing that, they can use their personal names. Women can therefore sit in the main circle on such informal occasions if they want to.

The kava bowl is opposite the presiding chief. The bowl is 276
three or four yards away from the chief in a small ceremony, 574
some two hundred yards away in a large royal ceremony. The kava maker sits behind the bowl with an assistant on either side of him. There is a group of people behind the bowl who help to make and serve the kava (the 'outer group' – *tou'a*). In a small informal ceremony the outer group is often very small. It is sometimes reduced to the bare minimum necessary to carry out the ceremony – the kava maker, one assistant, and someone to serve the kava. In a large formal ceremony the outer group is larger and more elaborately structured.

In a very large royal kava ceremony, such as that represented
in *Figure 2*, the outer group is divided into three parts. In the 276
centre group sit men who are the holders of minor titles that 574
stand in the relation of 'younger brother' (*tehina*) to certain of 554
the titles in the main circle. It is the titles that are brothers, not 565
the men. In the beginning, when the titles are supposed to have originated, the first titleholders are said to have been actual brothers, and this relation has continued to exist between the titles even though the men who hold the titles may no longer be linked by kinship. 'Our titles are brothers but we are not related', as Tongans put it.[4]

The right-hand portion of the outer group (that is, the portion to the right of the presiding chief) is composed of people without titles. In theory anyone can sit in the outer group at a kava ceremony, but at a formal ceremony most of those who attend are the 'children' (*fānau*) of the titles in the main circle, meaning that they are descendants of former holders of the titles. Some of the people who sit in this part of the outer group serve the kava during the ceremony. Others are called 'grandchildren of high rank' (*makapuna 'eiki*). This means that they had a grandfather who held one of the titles in the main circle, and their kinship relation to the present titleholder is such that they have higher personal rank than the current titleholder. They play an important part in the ceremonial distribution of food during the ceremony. Many of the

276 'children' and 'grandchildren' in this part of the outer group
574 are women.

554
565 The left-hand portion of the outer group is also composed of 'children' of the titles. Most of the people in this group are men, and they do the heavy work of the ceremony – carrying the kava, pigs, and other food in and out, dividing the food for distribution, and so forth. The path between this group and the central group is called the 'path of work' (*hala ngāue*), whereas the path between the right-hand group and the centre group is called the 'sacred path' (*hala tapu*).

Finally, at a formal royal ceremony, there are certain very important chiefly titles that are seated right at the back, behind the outer group (see *Figure 2*).

To summarize the salient facts about the seating: the chief whose title is genealogically senior sits at the head of the main circle; the rest of the main circle is made up of formally appointed titleholders, chiefs and matāpule, sitting alternately. The titles of the chiefs in the main circle are supposed to be genealogically junior to the title of the presiding chief. The outer group is composed, first, of men who hold minor chiefly titles that stand in the relation of 'younger brother' to the titles in the main circle and, second, of men and women without titles who are the 'children' and in a few cases also the 'grandchildren' of the titles in the main circle.

276
574 The first thing that happens in the ceremony is that people come in and seat themselves. Kava plants and sometimes food are presented to the presiding chief and placed in the centre
[262] of the circle (see *Figure 2*). The traditional food to go with the kava is sugar cane, but vast quantities of pigs and other cooked
[262] food are presented along with it. Nowadays the sugar cane is often omitted. In a formal ceremony the food is meticulously counted and thanks for it are chanted by the matāpule. Then the presiding matāpule tells someone on the outer group to take a kava plant from in front of the presiding chief down to the bowl end, where it is split up, cleaned, and then pounded by the kava maker. (Traditionally small bits of the kava root were

handed to people in the outer group who chewed it, spat it out 276
neatly on to a leaf, and then handed it back to the kava maker 574
who put it in the bowl.) The kava maker puts the pounded kava root in the bowl and begins to knead it with his hands, and water is poured in by the kava maker's assistants – all of these actions being carried out according to fixed ceremonial orders chanted by the presiding matāpule. The pouring in of the water is one of the most sacred moments of the ceremony and all conversation stops. Then the matāpule calls out to mix the kava and to strain it. While the kava maker is straining the 276
kava conversation is resumed, speeches may be made, and if 574
there is food some of it is ceremonially divided and distributed 264
to each titleholder in the main circle. The titleholders do not eat their food, however. They call for their respective 'grandchildren of high rank' to come from the outer group and take the portions of food away. Then all the remaining food is ceremonially given to the matāpule on the left of the presiding chief, who orders men from the outer group to take it away. After the ceremony is over this food is divided among the participants.

Eventually, after the flurry of activity in distributing and 276
removing the food, the kava maker's assistant calls out that the 574
kava is clear and the matāpule gives the order for servers to come from the outer group with cups. A cup of kava is taken to each person in the main circle and to several in the outer group. Generally when the serving is completed the ceremony is ended. It may be continued, but in this case the second serving is directed by the matāpule on the chief's left. An informal kava ceremony may go on all night, alternating from right to left.

To recapitulate the sequence of ceremonial operations: the participants seat themselves; kava and food are presented and counted; a kava root is pounded and placed in the bowl; the kava is kneaded and water is poured in; the kava is strained, to the accompaniment of conversation or speeches and the distribution and clearing away of food; finally, cups of kava are served.

81: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

276 574 The first kava ceremony I saw was a small informal one, so informal that I did not realize it was a ceremony. I noticed an old man mumbling away from time to time – in fact he was giving ceremonial orders – and I saw that there were occasional lulls in the conversation, but I thought they were natural pauses not especially sacred moments in a ceremony. The first royal ceremony I saw was an entirely different affair. From the first moment when the food and kava were brought in with cries of 'Tue, tue, tue, tue, tue – e – e', and the matāpule chanted their thanks, the atmosphere was electric – charged with an intense feeling of being together in a group. The kava, the ceremony, and the group were sacred – *tapu.* I have never felt anything like it in our own society except at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, where it seemed to me that our mutual indifference to anything outside our own little circle was lost for a moment in a common feeling of being one nation.

121 How does one set about understanding such a ceremony? It is not much use asking people point-blank what it means any more than it would be useful to ask an individual what his dream means. To such questions Tongans reply politely, 'It is our custom,' and that is the end of the matter. What one should not do, either with a dream or a ceremony, is plunge headlong into arbitrary interpretations of symbolism. While this may be a useful intellectual exercise for the anthropologist or the psychoanalyst, it does not bring him much closer to the new and unique bit of reality he is trying to understand. It would be like trying to interpret a dream without knowing anything about the dreamer – no associations, no transference, no background knowledge of the dreamer's current life and childhood.

To understand a ceremony one needs to know something about the social context. One can also learn a lot by listening to what people say spontaneously and following up their leads. One can ask certain direct questions, such as why people sit where they sit, why the kava is used instead of another plant, or what the properties of kava are, without running into the blank wall of 'It is our custom.' One can ask people to explain

associations between kava, tranquillity, leprosy, poison, nausea, 276
and cannibalism. It may seem odd that tranquillity should appear alongside ideas of poison, nausea, and cannibalism, but I hope the reasons for this strange juxtaposition will become clearer as the exposition proceeds.

INTERPRETATION

The first point is that *the kava ceremony is one of a series of ceremonies* 276
that clarify social principles and social roles. In the kava ceremony 574
the principle of stratification by titles is marked off as clearly as 565
possible from all other forms of social differentiation. This as- 554
pect of the ceremony is conscious and explicit. Many Tongans told me, 'Everything in the kava ceremony goes by titles.'

In the traditional political system, chiefly titles carried 565
formal political authority. A chiefly titleholder had the right 554
and obligation to rule and to represent all the inhabitants of a given territory. The kava ceremony displayed the political relationships of titles to one another.

This emphasis on titles only makes sense when one knows [178]
that in the traditional system, and to a considerable extent today as well, there were two other systems of social differentiation that were very important in everyday life though they played a very minor role in the kava ceremony; these two other systems of social differentiation were political power and personal rank.[6]

Any man who could gather about him a large and industrious group of relatives and friends could become a political leader in the traditional system. This dimension of political power cut across the system of titles. Some powerful leaders did not hold titles. Some chiefly titleholders were strong leaders of large and powerful local groups; others were politically unimportant.

The third system, that of personal rank, is the same today as [178]
it was in the traditional system. The rewards of high rank are gifts of food and elaborate gestures of deference from people

565 The system of chiefly titles and political authority has also
554 changed. In 1875 at the time of the Constitution most of the
178 authority of the chiefly titleholders was transferred to the central
642 government. In compensation for their loss, about forty of the
more important and powerful chiefs were given the new European
title of 'noble' (*nopele* in Tongan) and were given a special
[646] position in the central government. They could elect seven of
their peers to the legislative assembly. At the present time being
a noble gives one a considerable initial advantage in acquiring
political authority, though one must also be educated.

The system of noble titles thus provides a link between the
276 old and the new systems of formal government. The kava
574 ceremony has changed accordingly. It used to be a ceremonial
565 statement of political authority; now it is a statement of continuity
554 between the new political system and the old. As before,
178 principles of personal rank and political power are almost
entirely excluded from the ceremony. People are seated and
served according to their titles, not according to their personal
rank, education, or position in government.

574 In the beginning I found the constant contradictions of rank,
554 titles, and government authority difficult to grasp. Tongans
565 assured me it was perfectly simple if one had grown up with it.
But one thing that helps to keep it simple is ceremonies.
Ceremonies mark off one social principle from the others and
keep each principle clear in everyone's mind. At government
feasts people are seated primarily according to their position in
government; a commoner of low rank who is a Cabinet minister
will be seated at the Queen's table. At funerals, duties depend
mainly on the principles of kinship and personal rank. In the
kava ceremony titles are what matter, and power and personal
rank play a very minor role. Thus, if the same set of people
were involved in the three types of ceremony, they would
assume different positions and would have very different relationships
[276] with one another in each ceremony. Hence the kava
ceremony cannot be understood on its own; it is part of a
complex of ceremonies.[7]

I have repeatedly said that power and personal rank are 276
'virtually' excluded from the kava ceremony. The qualifying 574
objective needs explanation. Although titles are dominant in 554
the ceremony and are supposed to be seated and served accord- 565
ing to their genealogical seniority, there are certain features of
the seating and the ceremonial procedure that link the system
of titles to the principles of political power and personal
rank.

Certain important titles are in an anomalous relation to the 554
present kingship. Two of these titles were originally senior to the 565
title of the present king. A third title had a good claim to the 643
throne at one period. A fourth title, although always junior
to the present ruling line, had a remarkably able and ambitious
series of incumbents in the eighteenth and early nineteenth
centuries. One of them broke away from the secular king (the
Tu'i Kanokupolu) and became a virtually independent ruler
of the northern islands. The power of this particular titleholder,
in other words, far outstripped the official political authority of
his title. By a series of marriages to aristocratic women, the line
increased the personal rank of its incumbents until, in the late
nineteenth century, the personal rank of the current incumbent
was considerably higher than that of the King himself. In 276
the royal ceremony at the present time, all four of these titles 574
are seated far away at the back, twenty yards or so behind the
outer group (see *Figure 2*). Both their distinctiveness and their
anomalous position are thus emphasized. They do not fit in.

There is one event in the ceremonial procedure itself that 574
draws attention to the principle of personal rank. This is the 276
moment when the 'grandchildren of high rank' are called from 602
the outer group to collect the portions of food allocated to the 554
titleholders in the main circle. It is a reminder to all concerned 565
that although the chiefs and nobles hold the titles, they have
relatives who are of higher personal rank.

The kava ceremony thus displays the system of titles, with 276
passing references to the two other principles of social differen- 574
tiation, personal rank and political power. It demonstrates the 554
565

276 separateness of the three principles and at the same time shows
574 how they co-exist.

554 We have no historical information on how this particular
565 form of differentiated social principles developed. It was in full
175 flower at the time of Captain Cook's visits. He confessed him-
565 554 self bewildered by the system, though he gives a clear description of behaviour from which the operation of the three principles of authority, power, and rank can be inferred.

554 Although the historical development of the system remains
565 obscure, some of its effects can be observed in operation. It
571 preserves social continuity while at the same time providing opportunities for flexibility and individual initiative. For individuals it provides a ready-made defence and a mode of adaptation to a general problem that Freud outlined long ago in *Totem and Taboo*: how are subordinates to reconcile themselves to the fact that they hate and envy the authority ('father') whom they also need and love. In the Tongan system 'authority' is split up and dispersed so that no one, not even the King, can be on top all the time. However great a man may be in one dimension, someone else will be greater in some other dimension or some other context. What you lose on the swings you gain on the roundabouts. Further, the system is such that it is difficult, even today, to mobilize consistently opposed groups of 'haves' and 'have-nots'. But it would be a mistake to regard the splitting of authority, rank, and power as a 'solution' to the problem of ambivalent feelings towards authority, for it seems very likely that each of the three systems generates its own complex of envy and rivalry. The system may generate more hatred than it disperses.

571 There are many indications in everyday life that Tongans are very sensitive about problems of authority and conflict. People avoid open expression of disagreement, while at the same time seeing to it that the authorities concerned find out indirectly about the issues involved. For example, people will agree to fulfil what they consider to be unreasonable demands by a person in authority or a person of high rank, but they will

then fail to carry out the desired activity. If confronted by their lack of conformity, they disappear, or find a reasonable excuse or say they did not understand what was required of them. 'They have been leading us around for generations' as one eminent noble put it. 571

Possibly one factor in this general sensitivity to conflict and avoidance of open expression of it is that Tonga is an island, or rather a group of islands in close communication with one another. In a comparatively isolated group of islands more of an effort has to be made to contain and resolve internal conflicts than on a large land mass where dissidents and persecuted groups can move away without actually leaving the society. And if the controls break down and violence actually breaks out on an island, as it did in Tonga in the early nineteenth century, the island is in for a blood bath that few can escape. [175]

The second major point about the kava ceremony is that *it is a conserving and conservative institution.* This aspect of the ceremony is less explicit than the emphasis on titles. It is unformulated though certainly not unconscious. 276 574 571 554

The seating and serving order of the kava ceremony are a partial substitute for a written history, for the seating of each title, especially in the royal kava ceremony, is supposed to be explainable in terms of actual historical events. I was so intrigued by this aspect of the ceremony that I spent many months asking titleholders why they sat where they did in the royal kava ceremony. My husband and I were frustrated and puzzled to find that many titleholders did not know why they sat where they did. Eventually it dawned on us that this in itself was the significant point. Forgetting is selective. The seating of titles that are still politically important is known and understood. The reasons for the seating are forgotten if the titles are politically unimportant today.

Personal rank and political power can change very quickly in Tonga; it takes a long time for the titles and the kava ceremony to catch up. Two or three generations of 'bad' marriages can drastically reduce the personal rank of the man who holds

276 a title, but the title itself and its position in the kava ceremony
574 are hardly affected. Once a drop in personal rank is combined
571 with a drop in the political power and influence of the title-
554 holder, however, the rank of the title and its position in the kava ceremony gradually begin to decline as well. People start to forget the reasons for the seating of the title. Its position in the circle may be changed to accommodate a more important title. Eventually unimportant titles cease to be appointed and even their ceremonial place is forgotten.

Occasionally there is a massive reshuffle of seating arrange-
175 ments to take account of changes in political power. This hap-
643 pened after the death of the last sacred king in 1865. While the
554 sacred kingship was still in existence, the kava circle of the
276 secular king, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, included only those titles
574 that were derived from the Tu'i Kanokupolu line and were
565 genealogically junior to the Tu'i Kanokupolu title. But when
571 the sacred kingship lapsed in 1865 and the Tu'i Kanokupolu became the sole king, the titles derived from the Tu'i Tonga line had to be fitted into the Tu'i Kanokupolu's kava circle, even though many of these titles were genealogically senior to the title of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. This conflict between actual political power and the genealogical seniority of titles was surmounted by a sort of legal fiction. Before he died the last Tu'i Tonga transferred his sacred prerogatives to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. There is some doubt, however, about how he disposed of his kava prerogatives. Some say that he handed these over to the 'King of the Second House', a very ancient title that stands in the relation of 'brother' to the Tu'i Tonga title. The difficulty was solved by a marriage between the Tu'i Kanokupolu line and the 'King of the Second House' line, the end result being that the 'King of the Second House' title is now held by the Royal Family, and the present incumbent is the King's younger brother.

276 Thus the kava ceremony changes to take account of changes
574 in the power of titles, but it changes more slowly than the
554 rank and power of individuals, and the changes are phrased
571

as much as possible in the idiom of titles and their genealogical 276
seniority. 574
554

The third major point about the ceremony is that *it expresses a* 571
fundamental contradiction. We were first alerted to this aspect of the ceremony by comparing the many different social contexts in which it takes place. One thing all these social situations have in common is a confrontation of people of different status. In everyday life these people can be expected to harbour feelings of jealousy and resentment about their differential privileges. At the same time, in spite of the antagonisms, during the ceremony there is a strong feeling of being at harmony together in a group. As Tongans put it, 'You do not drink kava with an enemy.'

In brief, the ceremony says, 'We are all united,' but it also says, 'We are all different.' And the element of difference contains another contradiction, for it makes two contrary communications. It says, 'We are differentiated and interdependent,' but it also says, 'We are unequal. Our titles differ in seniority. And some of us do not have titles at all.' In other words the kava ceremony expresses ambivalence – the simultaneous presence of contradictory feelings. I do not mean that each participant in the ceremony becomes consciously aware of the sort of emotional ambivalence that I have described. Most people seemed to be more aware of feelings of unity and harmony than of feelings of antagonism and rivalry – or at any rate more willing to talk about feelings of unity and harmony. The feelings of antagonism showed themselves more in what
people did than in what they said. At formal ceremonies we [576]
observed many minor breaches of *tapu*. One's hands should be [516]
clasped in one's lap throughout the ceremony, for example, but our photographs show that people often moved their
hands about. Similarly people are not supposed to talk in a [576]
very formal ceremony, but people were whispering away al- [521]
most all the time – usually uncomplimentary remarks about the way the ceremony was being conducted.

Within the prescribed events of the ceremony there is only a 276
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276 little scope for the formal expression of conflict, envy, and
574 jealousy. For example, there is one titleholder whose duty it is
571 to see that the kava is well prepared and that everyone behaves
565 properly. In 1959 the incumbent of this title was a man of comparatively low personal rank; he aimed his sharpest reprimands at two titleholders of very high personal rank, men whom he would never have dared to challenge in any other social context. But he was not alone; all the men of low rank relished his performance. Even in this case, the titleholder concerned was not ceremonially obliged to abuse the men of high rank. What he did was left to his own initiative.

276 In other words, the formal, prescribed events of the ceremony
574 emphasize unity and harmony. Rivalry, jealousy, and
571 envy are widely and consciously felt, to varying degrees, but their expression is either unofficial or is left to individual initiative.[8]

The myth of the origin of the kava helps to elucidate the
276
574 contradictory attitudes implied in the ceremony. When the
539 late Queen was reflecting on this myth she said it expressed the
773 mutual sacrifice and understanding between ruler and subjects
643 that was essential to keep Tonga united and strong. It was this mutual sacrifice and understanding the kava ceremony was commemorating. I agreed with this interpretation, but said I thought the myth also expressed suspiciousness and hostility between ruler and subjects. The couple sacrificed their most precious possession, their daughter, but she did have leprosy; eating her might have harmed the King. The King's refusal to eat her was partly an act of generosity, but he was also protecting himself. And when the couple brought in the plant, he thought at first that it might be poisonous. If I had thought of it at the time, I might have added that the couple's sacrifice was an insult to the King, for to call someone a 'man eater' is a common insult in Tonga. And, in addition to everything else, spitefulness is implied in the couple's heroic act. It is as if they were saying to their King, 'Look at the dreadful thing you have made us do.'

After some discussion the Queen said that such suspicious- 276
ness between ruler and subjects was probably inevitable and 574
natural. Perhaps what the myth and the ceremony meant was 539
that mutual understanding and sacrifice were possible in spite 773
of doubt and suspicion. 643

This was as far as I got with the myth while we were still in 276
Tonga. After we left I wished I had asked many other questions 574
about it, for it now seems to me that there are many other 539
levels of meaning and feeling in it. If I were doing the study 773
again I would ask why the little island of 'Euciki? Why the famine, the cannibalism, and, above all, the leprosy, all of which are known in Tonga but have always been rare. Why the particular food plant, the kape, and what of the many different triangular situations mentioned in the various versions of the myth? There is one issue that I think worth including even though I did not explore it fully at the time. The myth seems to deal with the progression of psychic experience from a very primitive level in which good and bad are confused and contaminated to one in which good and bad are better differentiated, so that it becomes possible to distinguish the symbol from the object. The burial, in other words, transforms the contaminated, sacrificed girl into the two plants, the kava, which is still potentially poisonous, and its antidote, the sugar cane.•

The kava myth helps to understand what the plant symbolizes and why Tongans regard it as strong stuff, but it does not throw much light on the actual events of the ceremony – the pounding, pouring in of water, serving, etc. For this we must turn, very briefly, to another myth that almost paraphrases some of the events of the kava ceremony. The explicit claim of this myth to relevance in connection with the kava ceremony is that it is concerned with the origin of the system of titles that the kava ceremony ceremonially displays. None of my informants pointed out the close parallel between the events of the kava ceremony and the events of the myth, though I was told the myth in the context of discussing the ceremony so

276 that there was obviously an associative link. I myself was only
574 half aware of the connections between the myth and the
539 ceremony while I was still in Tonga, I think this half-awareness
773 is similar to Tongans' feeling about the myth. A connection
is dimly felt without being explicitly thought out.

The story of the myth is simple and melodramatic. A god
276 574 from the sky has intercourse with a woman of the earth and a
539 son is born, called ʻAhoʻeitu. When he grows up he wants to
773 see his father and, following instructions from his mother, he
643 climbs up to the sky by a giant ironwood tree. ʻAhoʻeitu is enthusiastically welcomed by his father, who thinks at first that ʻAhoʻeitu is a god of even higher rank than himself. The father then sends his new-found son, without introduction, to see his other sons in the sky, presumably the sons of sky mothers. When ʻAhoʻeitu's half-brothers see everyone admiring ʻAhoʻeitu because of his beauty, and when they hear rumours that he is their father's son, they tear ʻAhoʻeitu to pieces and eat him up. The father suspects what they have done. He calls for a wooden bowl and makes his sons vomit into it. This is very reminiscent of the former custom of chewing the kava, of the statements that kava sometimes makes people feel like vomiting, and of the linguistic association with nausea. The sons vomit up ʻAhoʻeitu's flesh and blood, they confess, and the father sends people to collect the bones and the head, which are also put in the bowl. Water is poured into the bowl, as in the kava ceremony. The pouring in of the water, as I have noted above, is one of the most sacred moments of the ceremony. After some time ʻAhoʻeitu begins to take shape and finally sits up in the bowl. Then the father calls all his sons together and tells them that ʻAhoʻeitu will go back to the earth to become the first king of Tonga, the first Tuʻi Tonga. At this point, the myth says, affection awakens in the hearts of the brothers, and they plead with their father to be allowed to go with ʻAhoʻeitu. The father agrees. Four of the brothers go down to earth to serve ʻAhoʻeitu as his matāpule. The fifth and eldest brother cannot be king, the father says, because he is guilty of murder, but he

will be the King of the Second House (Tu'i Fale Ua). If 'Aho- 276
'eitu's line should die out then the King of the Second House 574
will become King. (This is the rationale for the belief, men- 539
tioned above, that the last Tu'i Tonga bequeathed his kava 773
prerogatives to the King of the Second House.) There are 643
several other myths and legends that purport to show that all through Tongan history the descendants of the King of the Second House tried to murder 'Aho'eitu's descendants in order to wipe out his line.

Using the leads provided by this myth, I think that the 276
chewing or, nowadays, the pounding of the kava is a symbolic 574
repetition of psychic cannibalism, representing a desire both 154
to get possession of the qualities of the beautiful envied brother and son and to destroy him. This mixture of admiration, greed, and destructive envy is a familiar theme from the analysis of the cannibalistic fantasies of patients. But of course in the ceremony it is kava that is pounded or chewed, not a person; this symbolic transformation is taken up in the kava myth.

The idea that the pounding of the kava may represent cannibalistic destruction of an envied object, a brother or son, is consistent with the fact that the people in the outer group, who used to chew and now help to pound the kava, stand in the relation of 'child' or 'younger brother' to the titleholders of the main circle.[10] In other words, the kava plant is presented to the presiding chief as 'Aho'eitu was presented to his father. The father then sends the kava/son to be destroyed. The destruction is carried out by 'children', though perhaps also by 'younger brothers' (of the 'father') – an indication that people in the 'father' category are involved in the destruction. The father's envy and destructiveness are hinted at in the myth, for the father at first thinks his son is of higher rank, and then sends him to his other sons without introduction. He immediately suspects his other sons of murder and cannibalism, as if the thought were not far from his own mind. So far as I could discover none of this is conscious. That is, participants in the [571]
ceremony are aware to some extent of their envy and jealousy

276 of one another, and most of them know the two myths, but
574 they do not consciously link the two sets of knowledge.

154 In the ‘Aho‘eitu myth incorporation and destruction are
571 followed by healing water and the awakening of good feeling. Once this has taken place the kava is served, that is, the experience can be re-incorporated in a form that is soothing and tranquillizing. But the transformation is not always successful, for strong green kava sometimes makes people want to vomit. In other words, the method of preparing the kava can be seen as an effort to convert envy and jealousy into remorse and affection, to change poisonous feelings into feelings of tranquillity and harmony. But other myths and legends make it clear that envy and jealousy can never be overcome entirely and permanently, just as they can never be eradicated from everyday life. The feelings appropriate to cannibalism are here to stay. Envy, greed, and jealousy are always with us, but so are admiration and remorse. Conflict is inevitable. The kava ceremony states the particular Tongan variant of this general human dilemma and tries to communicate the idea that the forces of love can be made stronger than the forces of hate, at least temporarily. Once again, people do not think all this out consciously. They feel there is something good about the ceremony, something healing, but no one phrases it in terms of reparation to a damaged object and the re-incorporation of the whole experience.

276 As with the kava myth, there are many other possible inter-
574 pretations of the ‘Aho‘eitu myth. One version of the myth,
539 for example, goes into considerable detail about the way the
773 brothers threw ‘Aho‘eitu's head into a bush, which caused the
154 bush to become poisonous. Perhaps this is a way of talking about castration, with the customary theme of power residing in the cut-off head/phallus. There is a great deal of ambiguity in the myth about who is killing whom. Obviously the half-brothers kill ‘Aho‘eitu, but he is the father's favourite so they are attacking the father as well. The father himself sends ‘Aho‘eitu to his death, as I have indicated above. And what of

the mother far away in Tonga? ʻAhoʻeitu is her only son, so 276
she is being attacked and perhaps destroyed. But it is she who 574
tells ʻAhoʻeitu how to get to heaven in the first place. And what 539
of the link with the kava myth itself in which a daughter is 773
destroyed? Is it a daughter only or also a mother in disguise? 154

I do not think one can select any particular interpretation 121
as the 'right' one. None of them can be 'proved' or 'disproved', at least not by the methods appropriate to the consulting-room, nor by any other method that I could think of at the time. In the consulting room, where the two partners to the relationship are supposed to be discovering psychic truth, however painful and improbable, one can make interpretations about unconscious cannibalism or unconscious desires to castrate a brother, and judge from the patient's reactions whether the interpretations are close to home or wide of the mark. One always has the transference situation, of which one has direct experience, as a yardstick against which the manifest content of the patient's material can be compared. In Tonga I was [123]
often aware of transference, especially of the more obvious aspects of it: the attitude that I was a foreigner with whom a cultural 'front' had to be kept up; attempts to 'use' me in one way or another to gain some social end; the feeling that I was a sympathetic outsider with whom emotional burdens could be shared. But I never felt it appropriate to interpret the transference. I found I was prepared to raise such issues as the likelihood of hostility between rulers and subject, particularly with a very secure and much-loved monarch, but I was not prepared to try out interpretations of cannibalism or castration with anyone, so unprepared, in fact, that I could hardly think of such interpretations intellectually until I had left the field. The social situation I was in did not sanction such endeavours.

From among the many possible interpretations, I have 276
emphasized the theme of cannibalism and reparation, of the 574
destruction and restoration of a brother/son, because it seemed 154
to me the most obvious, the most consistent with the events and the status differentials of the ceremony, and the most in

276 accord with constellations of envy and rivalry in other aspects
574 of Tongan social life. It helped to order the facts in a new and
154 comparatively simple pattern that I had not seen before.
But it seems very likely that at various times and to various Tongans any or all of the variants described above might be unconsciously meaningful. The ambiguity of myths and ceremonies is part of their point. It gives individuals some leeway to play with experience, to make culture their own possession.

276 The particular beauty of the kava ceremony, at least for
574 me, is that it deals with problems on so many different levels
182 at the same time. It clarifies social principles and roles. It puts
571 a temporary brake on certain types of rapid change. It states
and partly resolves problems of dependence and envy, and of interdependence and rivalry, some aspects of which are generated by the peculiarly Tongan system of social stratification, and some by the universal human attributes of having a capacity for thinking and feeling and being brought up in a society.

Small-scale societies tend to have multidimensional cere-
121 monies of this type more frequently than we do. This suggests
that time and continuity of shared experience are needed to build a ceremony that can transmit messages on many different levels at the same time. A long history of interpersonal contact and conflict makes possible the development of a symbolic statement in which universal human experiences are meaningfully linked with unique social circumstances.

000 In conclusion, I hope that I may have been able to interest you in taking a fresh look at ceremonies in our own society – at the coronation, for example, or at the elaborate ceremonial installation of the Lord Mayor of London as compared to the absence of ceremony in the installation of the head of the Greater London Council, at the Communion Service, at weddings, funerals, New Year's Eve parties, and so forth. Are roles dramatized and clarified? Is there a sense of continuity with the past? Is a symbolic form of expression provided for unspoken, or unformulated, or unconscious thoughts? Does the

121 2. Many anthropologists, especially in Britain, do not share Audrey Richards's and my view that understanding of unconscious mental processes is relevant to the analysis of social events. They are particularly apprehensive that psychoanalysts will attempt to explain social events in terms of individual needs. Their attitude is paralleled by the psychoanalyst's conviction that the complex events of the consulting room cannot be reduced to the level of neuro-anatomy. See especially Leach (1958); Lévi-Strauss (1964), especially Chapter 3; Gluckman (1964); Turner (1964); and Fox (1967).

276 3. For discussion of the chemical constituents and physiological action of kava see especially Keller and Klohs, 1963. Dr C. R. B. Joyce, Reader in Psycho-Pharmacology at the University of London has very kindly reviewed the literature for me and reports the following conclusions: 'All in all, my impression remains firm that this substance is not remarkable for its pharmacological activity; that such active properties as it contains have not been isolated so far (there is more activity on animals in the watery or chloroform extract, for example, than in any so far identified substance); and that the whole situation is a remarkable example of the placebo phenomenon in a wide and important social setting.' Personal communication, May 1967.

276 574 554 565 4. A similar institution is found among certain Bantu tribes. A. I. Richards (1950) calls it 'positional succession'; I. Cunnison (1956) calls it 'perpetual kinship'.

276 266 177 5. Tongans say that cannibalism was not indigenous to Tonga, but that early in the nineteenth century groups of young Tongan warriors visited Fiji, adopted the practice of eating slain enemies, and continued to practise this custom when they returned home to Tonga. The new custom was not adopted with enthusiasm and was soon abandoned.

565 554 6. The analysis of these three principles of social differentiation, political authority (titles), political power, and personal rank was first worked out by my husband, James Spillius, and was presented to the Tenth Pacific Science Congress at Honolulu in 1961 in a paper entitled 'Rank and Political Structure in Tonga'.

276 574 565 554 7. This complex of ceremonies is a striking example of what Max Gluckman has called the 'ritualization' of social relations in small-scale ('tribal') societies. He attributes this 'ritualization' to '. . . the fact that each social relation in a subsistence economy tends to serve manifold purposes . . . it is from this situation that I see emerging the relatively great development of special customs and

stylised etiquette to mark the different roles that a man or woman is 276 574
playing at any one moment' (Gluckman, 1962, pp. 26–7). 554

8. In recent years anthropologists have devoted much attention 565
to conflict and ambivalence and their expression in religion and 276
ritual as well as in everyday affairs. See especially Fortes (1959); 574
Gluckman (1955), (1963) especially the Introduction and Chapter 3 571
entitled 'Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa' and (1965), especially Chapter 6 entitled 'Mystical Disturbance and Ritual Adjustment'; Leach (1965); Turner (1957) and (1964).

One problem of particular relevance is that some rituals incorporate conflict directly into the prescribed events of the ritual whereas others, like the kava ceremony, imply conflict but do not prescribe its enactment. But a comparative discussion of this topic would lead me too far from the immediate problem of the kava ceremony.

9. On the differentiation of 'good' and 'bad' as part of normal 276
psychic development, see especially W. R. Bion (1957), (1958), and 574
(1962). See also Hanna Segal (1964). On the differentiation of 539 773
symbol from object see Hanna Segal (1957).

10. The early accounts of kava ceremonies in which the kava was 276
chewed instead of pounded do not specify whether the chewing was 574
done only by the 'children' in the outer group or also by the 'younger 154
brothers'. All we know is that the people who did the chewing were in the outer group and that a considerable number of them took part in the chewing. Nowadays only the kava maker does the actual pounding.

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82: Leach OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For further information on the mythological origins of the kava ceremony, see Categories 539 or 773.]

bonds' (death associated with mutual separation). This contrast is presented to us by the evidence itself; it does not require 'interpretation' by the analyst (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 215). In the course of the essay that follows I shall constantly revert to this contrast, which is expressed in the actual ritual by a marked ambivalence in the relationship between the presiding chief and the presiding matāpule (cf. Bott, pp. 225–6 above). 114 539 773

The distinctiveness of this procedure may be seen if we compare it with that employed by Bott who interprets the mythology by resort to intuition. Thus she claims that the myth (Bott II) mentioned above, represents a symbolic displacement of parental envy or castration symbolism (Bott, p. 230 above). Plainly she is here introducing an element of Freudian dogma which is quite external to the evidence as such.

All the same, we should not too hastily assume that Bott's conclusions must be false. The skeletal structural analysis that I have proposed above is precisely analogous to one which Lévi-Strauss applied in 1953 to a series of incidents in the classical Theban saga (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 215). In that case the 'overemphasis of kinship bonds' was exemplified by the love of Oedipus for Jocasta and of Antigone for Polynices whereas the 'underemphasis of kinship bonds' was exemplified by the hostility between Oedipus and Laios and between Eteocles and Polynices. Since the Theban saga contains within itself all the basic complexes of the Freudian dogma it is hardly surprising that Bott should have got a whiff of ancient Thebes when contemplating the Tongan drama of 'Aho'eitu! But this, of course, raises the more general question of what is the relation between structuralist 'objective' analysis and psychoanalytic 'intuitive' analysis? The following material is designed to pursue this problem rather further. 121

I must first draw attention to a difficulty that Bott herself ignores. Her paper is, in the main, an analysis of 'royal' kava ceremonials as performed during the reign of the late Queen Salote. Bott observed such ceremonials and discussed them with 114 276 574

114 the Queen in person. One of the myths that she describes is in a
276 version that comes direct from the Queen. In one sense,
574 therefore, we are discussing ethnographic facts as they existed
643 around 1960. But Queen Salote was a highly educated woman, very well versed in the English language accounts of her own society. This makes me sceptical. Bott says of the kava ceremonial:

> But all this is done according to a fixed ceremonial procedure that has hardly varied for at least 160 years. We have a good description of the ceremony dating from 1806 (Mariner, 1818, Vol. 2, pp. 172–96) and the verbal orders and the actions performed have hardly changed at all. . . . (p. 206).

But this continuity is surely hypothetical? The various ethnographic sources, notably Gifford (1929, pp. 156–68) and Williamson (1939, pp. 70–87), provide a step-by-step instruction book on how to run a 'traditional' kava ceremonial, and it is at least possible that the whole business in its present form is quite recent and self-consciously archaic. Moreover, we need to remember that whereas the genuine 'traditional' kava ceremonial was part of an elaborate 'traditional' religious complex, the population of Tonga has been thoroughly Christian for nearly 150 years. Even if the form of the present-day kava ceremonial resembles that described by Mariner, it is hardly possible that it can, in any but a rather superficial sense, possess the same 'meaning'. In such circumstances, is *any* interpretation of the symbolism justifiable?

114 So also in the case of the mythology. Bott's informants had presumably read Gifford (1924) just as she had done herself; does this affect the legitimacy of such materials for the purposes of ethnographic analysis? I don't know. So far as the main body of this paper is concerned I will accept Bott's unstated presupposition that *all* the evidence (whether it comes from Mariner, or Gifford, or Bott, or any other source) belongs to a single 'ethnographic present', but this assumption is suspect. I shall return to this issue at the end.

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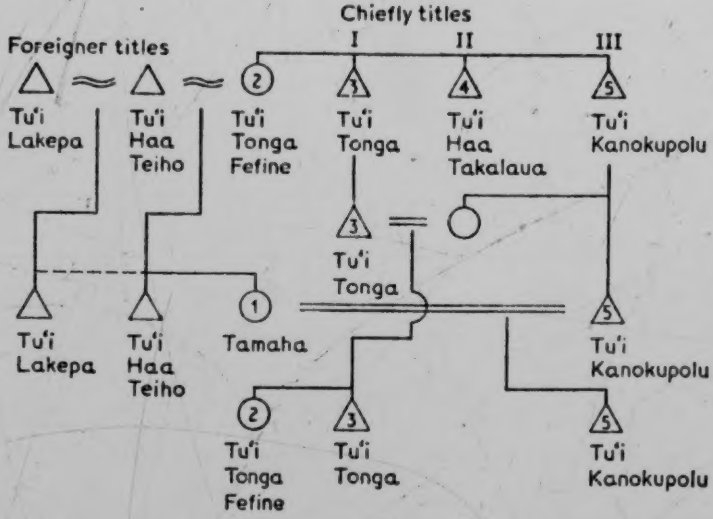
Figure 1 Perpetual succession and affinity of Tongan titles (numerals indicate rank order of titles)


Chiefly titles
I
II
III
Foreigner titles
Tu'i Lakepa
Tu'i Haa Teiho
2
Tu'i Tonga Fefine
1
Tu'i Tonga
4
Tu'i Haa Takalaua
5
Tu'i Kanokupolu
3
Tu'i Tonga
Tu'i Lakepa
Tu'i Haa Teiho
1
Tamaha
5
Tu'i Kanokupolu
2
Tu'i Tonga Fefine
3
Tu'i Tonga
5
Tu'i Kanokupolu

276 The essential features ~~of a~~ Tongan kava ceremonial appear to
574 be the following:

The participants seat themselves in a circle in the manner
shown by Bott in *Figure 1*, p. 208. The order of seating is pre-
cisely determined by the rank of the title held by the individual
[554] concerned. (Tongan titles are transmitted patrilineally in
[428] accordance with a system of positional succession. For example,
[611] certain titles are in younger brother relation to other titles 'but
it is the titles that are brothers, not the men' (Bott, p. 211).
Kava plants and food (traditionally sugar cane) are presented
to the presiding chief and placed in the centre of the circle.
The presiding matāpule[2] then gives orders that a kava plant
be taken from in front of the presiding chief down to the kava
bowl end of the circle where it is

> split up, cleaned, and then pounded by the kava maker. (Traditionally small bits of the kava root were handed to people in the outer group who chewed it, spat it out neatly on to a leaf, and then handed it back to the kava maker who put it in the bowl.)

82: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

The kava maker puts the pounded kava root in the bowl and begins to knead it with his hands, and water is poured in by the kava maker's assistants – all of these actions being carried out according to fixed ceremonial orders chanted by the presiding matāpule. The pouring in of the water is one of the most sacred moments of the ceremony and all conversation stops. Then the matāpule calls out to mix the kava and to strain it. While the kava maker is straining the kava conversation is resumed, speeches may be made, and if there is food, some of it is ceremonially divided and distributed to each title holder in the main circle. In a large scale ceremonial the title holders do not eat their food, however. They call for their respective 'grandchildren of high rank' to come from the outer group and take the portions of food away. Then all the remaining food is ceremonially given to the matāpule on the left of the presiding chief, who orders men from the outer group to take it away. After the ceremony is over this food is divided among the participants. 276 574

Eventually, after the flurry of activity in distributing and removing the food, the kava maker's assistant calls out that the kava is clear and the matāpule gives the order for servers to come from the outer group with cups. A cup of kava is taken to each person in the main circle and to several in the outer group. When the serving is completed the ceremony is ended. Or it may be continued, but in this case the second serving is directed by the matāpule on the chief's left. An informal kava ceremony may go on all night, alternating from right to left (Bott, pp. 212–13).

Bott's problem (and mine) is to determine what this ritual sequence is all about.

Certain facts of Tongan ethnography are clearly relevant. All accounts of Tongan society lay stress on the Tongans' almost obsessive interest in the twin, though distinguishable, concepts of 'rank' and 'title'. *Rank* in Tongan terms is a personal attribute that depends upon the individual's ancestry through both male and female lines; *titles* are offices that an individual may inherit by patrilineal succession (or usurpation). Titles are themselves ranked in a hierarchy that is, in theory, unalterable and depends upon the circumstances in which the title first came into being in mythological times. It is very relevant for 565 554

1929, pp. 80–1: also Bott, personal communication). Notionally 644
it should have been possible to generate an individual of even 643
more exalted personal status than the Tamaha by having this 554
lady cohabit with the Tu'i Tonga. Tongan myth actually provides for such a possibility (Gifford, 1929, p. 81) but significantly no such alliance seems to have occurred in history (see *Figure 1*).

It will be seen that although the political leader, the Tu'i 643
Kanokupolu, held a lower ranking title than the ritual leader, 554
the Tu'i Tonga, the pattern of marriage was such that the personal rank status of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, derived through maternal links, might be as high or higher than that of the reigning Tu'i Tonga.

The net result of these complex games of status is thus sum- 565
marized by Bott (p. 218): 554

> Unlike titles, which are normally inherited in the male line, 611
> personal rank is inherited from both parents. To be a great [428]
> aristocrat means that one is descended, preferably through a line of eldest sisters, from the eldest sister of the former sacred King, the Tu'i Tonga, a title that is now defunct. Even the principles of rank in themselves may sometimes conflict. If a man marries a woman who is a great aristocrat and his sister marries a lowly commoner, the children of the respective marriages will be in a contradictory situation. According to one principle the children of the sister will rank higher than the children of the brother, but according to the other principle (that descent from the Tu'i Tonga's sister confers higher rank) the children of the brother will have higher rank.

This statement suffices to provide us with an initial hypothesis. 276
The kava ceremonial contains only two classes of operations. 574
First, the participants must seat themselves in the right order. 554
Second, the kava and food must be ritually prepared and 565
handed round. The position in the circle of present-day titleholders is determined by patrilineal succession in accordance with the relative ranking position of the hereditary titles, but the personal rank of the holders of these titles may be widely discrepant from the relative ranking of the titles themselves,

276 because the personal rank contains the added element of
574 matrilineal succession from a Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

554
565 My hypothesis is that the kava ceremonial provides a charter for this discrepancy. I postulate that although the seating arrangements are strictly by title the actual presentation of the kava represents the legendary maternal ancestry of the individual recipients.

128 With this possibility in mind let us turn to consider the mythology.

539 Bott tells us that she recorded two versions of 'The Myth of the
773 Origin of Kava' and draws the reader's attention to four other versions printed by Gifford (1924, pp. 71–5). The version that Bott herself provides is as follows:

> *Bott I*
>
> One day the King of Tonga went fishing with a friend. They did not catch anything, and as they were tired and hungry they called in at the little island of 'Eueiki to get something to eat. At that time there was only one couple living on the island and they had one child, a daughter, whose name was Kava'onau. (In some versions the name is abbreviated to 'Kava'.) She had leprosy. It was a time of famine and the only food the couple had left was a large kape plant (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*) which stood near the beach. When the King landed he sat down to rest against this plant. When the couple realized who their guest was they set about making an earth oven but when they came to get their sole remaining food plant, they could not use it because the King was leaning on it. The King's friend saw the couple hit something in their house and bring it out to be baked in the earth oven. He saw that they had killed their daughter because they had nothing else to give their King. The King's friend told the King what the couple had done. The King was deeply moved by their sacrifice. He rose up immediately and returned to the main island, telling the couple to bury their child properly.
>
> Two plants grew from the grave, one from the head and one from the foot. One day the couple saw a mouse bite the first plant, stagger a bit, and then bite the second plant, after which he recovered his balance.
>
> One day Lo'au came to the island and the couple told him all that had happened . . . When Lo'au heard the couple's story he

539 773 bear a child to the Tu'i Tonga, so she told Ngongokilitoto that he had better cease his visits. She wanted to have a child that was without doubt the Tu'i Tonga's. After Ngongokilitoto ceased his visits to Nua she became pregnant to the Tu'i Tonga. She bore a son who was named Tu'itātui.

The story then continues at length about the relations between Tu'itātui and his half-brother Fasiapule. The beginning of this part of the story runs as follows:

> When the Tu'i Tonga died, Tu'itātui became king. Tu'itātui did not know that he had a brother. One morning they had a ceremony in which the Ha'angongo people presented yams and other products to the Tu'i Tonga. Fasiapule came with the people. He brought a basket in which he carried a piece of charcoal, one ripe *mamae* (a sort of banana), one *toto* (a fruit), and the pithy inside of a banana tree through which a fibre ran.
>
> During the kava drinking Fasiapule came inside the kava ring with his basket. Then he made a speech. First he picked up the banana pith and broke it in half, but it was still united by the fibre within. He told Tu'itātui that it was like themselves, that they could not break away from each other because they were born of the same woman. Then he picked up the *mamae* to show that the two half brothers will pity each other. If Fasiapule were to commit a wrong, Tu'itātui would have pity for him in his mind.
>
> Then Fasiapule picked up the *toto* and told the Tu'i Tonga that they too were of one blood and united like the *toto*. Then he picked up the charcoal and told the Tu'i Tonga that his mind was dark like the charcoal, for he did not know until now that he had a brother in Fasiapule.

773 In the latter part of this story Fasiapule runs away to Fiji and returns just as Tu'itātui is about to be buried on the island of Eua. Fasiapule kills his Fijian companion and substitutes his corpse for that of Tu'itātui. He then takes Tu'itātui's corpse away to the island called Moungatapu (Sacred Mountain) and thence to a place unknown, by some identified as Heketa, the locale of his seduction of his sister Latūtama (*supra*, p. 250).

276 574 Three unobtrusive details in this story deserve the reader's attention. First, certain foods presented at a kava ceremonial

are said to symbolize the solidarity that exists between an 276
aristocrat and his chief by virtue of links of common maternal 574
ancestry. Second, there is the charcoal symbolism of latent hostility between chiefs and aristocrats. Third, there is the marginality of Eua and Heketa.

In Gifford IV (p. 250) Eua is a substitution for 'Eueiki hence 773
there is a recurrent association between 'Eukeiki and Heketa. 823
Both are unpleasant 'sacred' places associated with sin and 778
death. Both have real existence in modern geography but mythologically both seem to stand for 'the other world' of spirits rather than this world of living men.

In her paper Bott records a myth that is much more ex- 539
plicitly concerned with the polarization of this world and the 773
other world (see p. 228). Bott considers that this myth relates 276
to the origins of certain details of the kava ceremony itself. 574
Her text is as follows:

> *Bott II*
> The story of the myth is simple and melodramatic. A god from the sky has intercourse with a woman of the earth and a son is born, called 'Aho'eitu. When he grows up he wants to see his father and, following instructions from his mother, he climbs up to the sky by a giant iron-wood tree. 'Aho'eitu is enthusiastically welcomed by his father, who thinks at first that 'Aho'eitu is a god of even higher rank than himself. The father then sends his new-found son, without introduction, to see his other sons in the sky, presumably the sons of sky mothers. When 'Aho'eitu's half-brothers see everyone admiring 'Aho'eitu because of his beauty, and when they hear rumours that he is their father's son, they tear 'Aho'eitu to pieces and eat him up. The father suspects what they have done. He calls for a wooden bowl and makes his sons vomit into it. This is very reminiscent of the former custom of chewing the kava, of the statements that kava sometimes makes people feel like vomiting, and of the linguistic association with nausea.[6] The sons vomit up 'Aho'eitu's flesh and blood, they confess, and the father sends people to collect the bones and the head which are also put in the bowl. Water is poured into the bowl, as in the kava ceremony. The pouring in of the water, as I have noted above, is one of the most sacred moments of the ceremony. After some time 'Aho'eitu begins to take shape and

539 773 276 574

finally sits up in the bowl. Then the father calls all his sons together and tells them that 'Aho'eitu will go back to the earth to become the first king of Tonga, the first Tu'i Tonga. At this point, the myth says, affection awakens in the hearts of the brothers, and they plead with their father to be allowed to go with 'Aho'eitu. The father agrees. Four of the brothers go down to earth to serve 'Aho'eitu as his matāpule. The fifth and eldest brother cannot be king, the father says, because he is guilty of murder, but he will be the King of the Second House (Tu'i Fale Ua). If 'Aho'eitu's line should die out then the King of the Second House will become King. (This is the rationale for the belief, mentioned above, that the last Tu'i Tonga bequeathed his kava prerogatives to the King of the Second House.) There are several other myths and legends that purport to show that all through Tongan history the descendants of the King of the Second House tried to murder 'Aho'eitu's descendants in order to wipe out his line.'

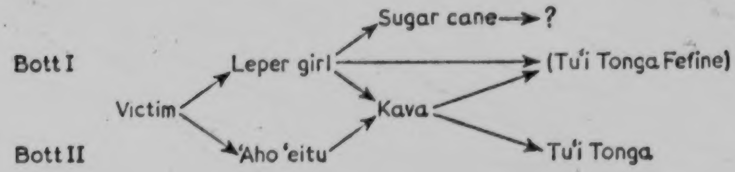
539 773

According to Bott (personal communication) this version of the story is compounded from the accounts of several distinguished informants including the Queen Salote herself. Gifford (1924, pp. 26–9, 38–43) gives us two alternative versions. Both are considerably longer than Bott II but contain much the same elements. Bott (p. 230) mentions that in one version of this myth 'the brothers threw 'Aho'eitu's head into a bush, which caused the bush to become poisonous', and she sees this as 'perhaps a way of talking about castration'. Both of Gifford's versions contain this detail and in one of them the point is made that – 'they threw the head among the plants called *hoi*. This caused one kind of *hoi* to become bitter. There is another kind that is sweet. The bitter kind became so because 'Aho'eitu's head was thrown into it. That kind of *hoi* is not eaten because it is poisonous.'

I have already commented (p. 240) on certain similarities and contrasts between elements in Bott II and 'corresponding' elements in Gifford V (p. 251). In Bott II the relationship between the Tu'i Tonga ('Aho'eitu) and his murderers is that of half-brother through a common father; in Gifford V, the relationship between the Tu'i Tonga (Tu'itātui) and Fasiapule

539 sacramentally as kava, nor does the myth anywhere explicitly
773 assert that Nua is the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, but it comes as close
as possible to making both these identifications. In any case both myths seem to imply equations between the murdered victim and human title holders through the medium of the kava, as in *Figure 2*.

Figure 2 Mythical transformations in Bott I and Bott II



Further 'equivalences' seem to be implied by the various references to the *kape* plant and to yams. The *kape* root could be used as a food of last resort and the implication of the reference to *kape* in Bott I is that the victim is substituted for the *kape* as an offering of food to 'the King'.

We meet with *kape* again in Gifford V where the girl Nua, who has previously been described as 'an old yam' and has been offered as sexual consort to the Tu'i Tonga, is told by her lover that 'the dripping of water on the *kape* leaf' is to be treated as a sexual invitation.

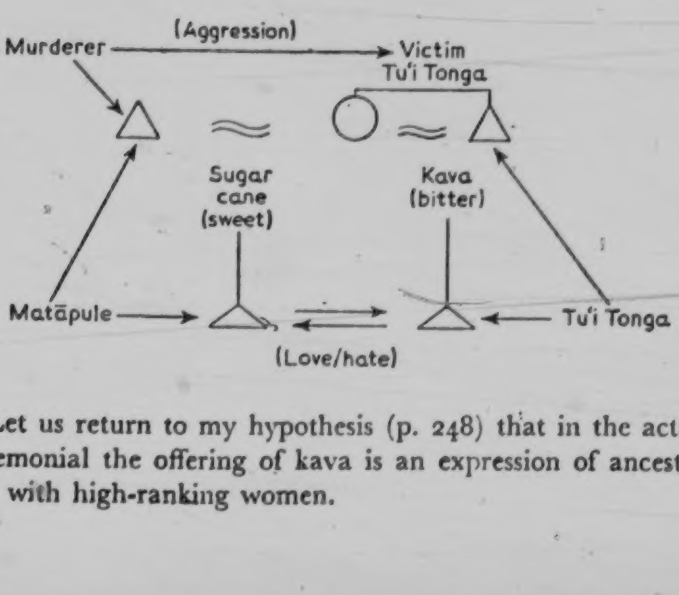
643 In the pre-Christian Tongan society 'by far the most im-
796 portant ceremony at which the Tu'i Tonga functioned was the
651 great annual *inasi* or offering of first fruits to the gods' (Gifford,
1929, p. 76). The central feature of this ritual was the offering
276 of yams to the Tu'i Tonga. Finally, perhaps we should notice
574 Bott's observation (*supra*, p. 213) that 'the pouring in of the
water (onto the masticated kava root) is one of the most sacred moments of the ceremony'.

539 We need to notice two particular features of this concatenation
773 of symbolic associations. First, there is a quite definite, though
somewhat obscure, association between incestuous sex relations

with a tabooed woman and the drinking of kava as a sacrament. 539
Second, this whole complex of myth fits in admirably with a 773
well-known generalization by Lévi-Strauss who has argued (Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 216) that there is always a logical contradiction in any story of first ancestors, particularly in patrilineal systems. For how can 'a first man' beget children except by cohabiting either with his mother or his sister? But if he had a mother, how could he be the first man? The logical contradictions of the coalescence and distinction between Lo'au (Tu'i Ha'amea) and Lo'au (Tu'i Tonga) seem to betray precisely such a problem. A somewhat similar ambiguity is implicit in the circumstance that although both the main myths make a close identification between the murdered victim and the Tu'i Tonga, Bott I makes the victim female and Bott II male; in the female case the associations of the chewing and preparation of the kava are sexual, in the male case the context is straight aggression.

Taken together a set of equivalences and symbolic associations of the following sort seems to be implied (*Figure 3*).

Figure 3 Kava/sugar polarity and symbolic equivalents



Let us return to my hypothesis (p. 248) that in the actual [276]
ceremonial the offering of kava is an expression of ancestral [574]
ties with high-ranking women.

554 In real life, Tongan titles can be distinguished as falling into
565 one or other of two categories: (i) chiefly titles, which are all
in the last analysis 'younger brothers' of the Tu'i Tonga title
(*supra*, p. 246) and (ii) matāpule titles, which are all considered
to have been derived from 'foreigners' (Fijians, Samoans, etc.)
[773] who married with Tongan women. In the mythology the relationship between titles of class (i) and titles of class (ii) is
treated as a relationship between half-brothers marked by
ambivalent attitudes of love and hate.

276 Explicit examples of this ambivalence are provided in Gif-
574 ford V (*supra*, pp. 251–2) especially in the story of Fasiapule,
554 the *toto*-fruit, and the charcoal. Another story about Tu'itātui
565 has just the same implication. Gifford (1929, p. 53) records a
643 tradition about this Tu'i Tonga to the effect that he used a
773 long stick to hit the knees of his matāpule when they came too
close. 'His reason for this practice is said to have been fear of
assassination because several Tu'i Tonga had been killed at
kava ceremonies by their matāpule.'

276 It is thus rather striking that whereas the formal appearance
574 of the real life kava ceremonial exhibits extremely cordial rela-
773 tionships between the holders of chiefly and matāpule titles,
the mythological counterpart is a set of stories about incestuous
relationships and murder.

Taking the mythology and the ritual in combination we encounter two types of transformation. On the one hand there are
permutations that occur within the body of the mythology itself;
on the other there are representations in the real life ritual of
276 incidents occurring in the mythology. The principal trans-
574 formations may be set out as follows:
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539
643
565

A. *Main transformation and identifications in the 'Aho'eitu Story* (Bott II)

I. Transformations occurring within the text of the myth itself

(i) 'Aho'eitu (who has a divine father and a human mother)

is converted into a kava offering *in the other world* but 276
becomes Tu‘i Tonga *in this world.* 574
773

(ii) ‘Aho‘eitu’s divine (paternal) half-brothers are kava 539
makers *in the other world* but becomes matāpule *in this* 643
world, except for the Tu‘i Fale Ua, a chiefly title, ranking 565
as Deputy for the Tu‘a Tonga.

II. Transformations as between the text of the myth and the performance of the real life kava ceremony

(i) *In the myth.* The murderer half-brothers of the victim are identical to the kava makers.
In the ritual. The matāpule and the kava maker are separate individuals, physically separated, but the kava maker acts under the instructions of the matāpule.

(ii) *In the myth.* The murdered victim who later becomes Tu‘i Tonga is identical to the kava.
In the ritual. The presiding chief, a descendant of a Tu‘i Tonga, is physically separated from the kava. However, the first action in the ceremony is to present the *kava* plants and food to the presiding chief and then remove them from him (*supra*, p. 244).

If we accept the mythical identification of matāpule with kava maker and of Tu‘i Tonga with kava, then it follows that, in the real life ceremonial, the four main elements are related as:

kava maker : kava : : matāpule : Tu‘i Tonga (presiding chief).

B. *Main transformations and identifications in the stories about the* 276
island of ‘*Eueiki* (Bott I; Gifford I–IV; Gifford V) 574
773

Preliminary comments 539

Of the numerous contrasts between Bott I and Bott II (tabulated on pp. 257–8) the following seem especially significant:

276			BOTT I	BOTT II
574 773	4.	the victim is	female ugly	male beautiful
539	14/15.	the victim is reconstituted as	*two* plants: sweet sugar cane from the foot or intestines; bitter kava from the head	the human Tu'i Tonga

In *Figure 3* it has been proposed that the two plants should be interpreted as the lawful (sweet) and unlawful (bitter) aspects of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine's sexual personality. An alternative possibility, suggested by the above tabulation, is that the sweet and bitter plants correspond to male and female aspects of the Tu'i Tonga title. The ambiguity cannot be resolved without 'intuition'. It seems likely in any case that both the mythology and the ritual has here been modified by 'modern' influences.

The sugar cane and the kava are opposed not only as sweet and sour but also as stalk and root, and I would guess that the sugar cane once grew, neither from the foot nor the 'intestines' of the victim but from her vagina. In the ritual, the sugar cane serves as a prototype food offering (*supra*, p. 244). All modern accounts of the kava ceremonial imply that the drinking of the prepared kava is now of far greater ritual significance than the distribution or consumption of the food, but there is evidence that at one time the food entitlement of individual participants was very important (Gifford, 1929, p. 162). This change of emphasis may be due to the fact that in the pre-Christian era the offering of food had pagan religious significance (*supra*, p. 260); it could also reflect the fact that the three prime titles of Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Tonga Fefine, and Yu'i Kanokupolu were all combined in the single person of Queen Salote (*supra*, p. 243).

That the symbolic allocation of the kava and the sugar cane is as in *Figure 3* and not the other way round is supported by Gifford (1929, p. 159) where it is reported that when the Tu'i

Tonga was ill the kava would be described as 'diluted', and 276
that a special kava, accompanied by prayers for a son, was 574
performed when the Tu'i Tonga's consort was confined. 539
773
Furthermore Gifford (1929, p. 162) seems to imply that claims for personal precedence in the *'alofi* circle on the part of individual matāpule and minor chiefs on account of genealogical connection (through women) with the presiding chief were based on particular entitlements to food rather than particular entitlements to drink.

Another binary opposition that occurs in the ritual is that between the right and left sides of the *'alofi* circle (*supra*, p. 209). This distinction is linked with the allocation of titles to two 'moieties' (Kauhalalalo, Kauhalauta), but this does not seem to be linked with the sweet/bitter opposition or with any other feature of the mythology and I shall not attempt an analysis.

It has already been noted that the myths in the Bott I group 539
appear to be heavily loaded with the theme of incest, but it 773
needs to be emphasized that if the stories are taken to refer to titles rather than to individuals the incestuous elements follow almost automatically from the principles of positional succession. Just as in the classical ancient Egyptian case where Horus and Osiris stood in positional succession, Isis's relation to Horus is that of mother, wife, or sister according to viewpoint, so also with these Tongan stories: Nua is mother-sister-wife-daughter of the Tu'i Tonga.

I. Transformations occurring within the mythology itself.

- (i) The leprous girl from 'Eueiki, who is the daughter of a matāpule (or of a total stranger) is converted into the two plants of the kava ritual, kava and sugar cane.
- (ii) The beautiful girl from 'Eueiki becomes the mother of the Tu'i Tonga.[8]
- (iii) As a result of incest the Tu'i Tonga Fefine become the mother and 'wife' of the Tu'i Tonga.[9]
- (iv) But Nua, the mother and 'wife' of the Tu'i Tonga is also mother of Fasiapule, a matāpule.

539 773 The *explicit* mythical statement that the relationship between the Tu'i Tonga and matāpule titles is that of 'half-brother through a common mother' thus has the added *implicit* component that, through incest, the common mother is the Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

539 773 II. Transformations as between the text of the myth and the performance of the real life kava ceremony.

276 574 (i) *In the myth.* 'Eueiki produces two girls one leprous, one beautiful. The leprous girl is converted into two plants one 'poisonous' (kava) one sweet (sugar cane).
In the ritual. A distinction is made between the drink (kava) and the food (sugar cane). Distinctions are also made between the passive role of the presiding chief and the active role of the matāpule.

THE KAVA AS SACRIFICE

121 276 574 In my schematic analysis of the two myths I have referred to the killing as a 'murder'. Is it legitimate to see this killing as sacramental and to call it a 'sacrifice'? Is the relation between kava myth and kava ritual a charter for a symbolic killing, in the same way as the myth of the Last Supper provides the Christian with a charter for a symbolic meal that commemorates a 'full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice?'

General theories about the 'meaning of sacrifice' fall into three types. First there are versions of Robertson-Smith's 'communion theory', which was designed to fit the 'sacrifice' of the Christian mass into a wider universal class. Here the sacrificial victim is, at the moment of slaughter, identified with the deity. The eating of the meat of the sacrifice is deemed an essential element in the rite; the congregation shares a collective guilt in participating in god murder and ritual cannibalism; this collective guilt is an 'atonement', it makes the members of the congregation aware of themselves as a collectivity that has jointly sinned yet jointly assimilated itself to

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god. The views of Durkheim and of Freud both have much in common with this basic thesis of Robertson-Smith. 121 276

Second, 'gift theories of sacrifice' presume that in making a sacrifice the donor is offering a gift to his deity in order to compel the god to make a counter gift in return. Though sociologically unsophisticated, this type of generalization often corresponds closely to the ethnographic facts. Often enough this is what native informants say that they are doing. However, this 'theory' evades the basic problem: even if we were to concede that it is, in some way, 'sensible' for a human being to want to make a gift to his deity, how could it possibly be sensible that the form of this gift should be the killing of an animal? 574 ●

The third class of theory derives from Hubert and Mauss. This emphasizes the sacramental aspect of the sacrificial performances. A sacrifice serves to 'make the donor sacred', i.e. it improves his mystical condition; if he is ill he is made well, if he is in a state of sin he is freed from his sin. This theory is, in some respects, the opposite of that postulated by Robertson-Smith. Where Robertson-Smith laid stress on the symbolic identification of the victim and the deity, the Hubert and Mauss theory emphasizes the identification of the victim with the donor. By killing the victim the sacrificer alters its mystical condition; but if donor and victim are identical this also alters the mystical condition of the donor. The ideology is mixed up with the apparently self-contradictory notion that although cleanliness is a superior state to dirtiness, potency (power) is often felt to be dirty. A sick person is one who is 'contaminated' by mystical power; if he is to be made well he must be cleansed of that contamination by separating the dirty from the sterile. In a sacrifice, the killing of the victim separates the life potency from the cadaver. In a curiously inverted sense it is a 'purification' of both the dead animal and the living human being.

These theories are not necessarily mutually exclusive. If sacrifice constitutes a 'gift' from man to god, it also constitutes an atonement by which man and god are momentarily bound together and, in this moment of coalescence, it makes little

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difference to the ideology whether the bond itself – namely the
121 sacrificial victim – is felt to be identified with the deity, or with
276 574 the donor, or with both at once. In the language of structural
analysis the victim 'mediates' the opposition between deity and
donor.

276 If these theories are applied to the Tongan material that has so
574 far been considered, several details seem particularly relevant.

(i) In real life 'kava can be presented ceremonially only by a matāpule; even a titled chief can present kava to the Queen only through a matāpule' (Gifford, 1929, p. 140).

Therefore, on the sacrifice analogy: the kava mediates the opposition between the matāpule as donor and the presiding chief as recipient. The matāpule titles in real life belong to the descendants of foreigners, and they are persons whose relationship to the Tu'i Tonga is comparable to that of the foreigner 'husbands' of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (*supra*, p. 246) [10] and of the mythical 'Fijian' (maternal) half-brother Fasiapule (*supra*, p. 252).

773 (ii) In Bott I and its variants stress is placed on the fact that
539 the parents of the leper girl pay reverential respect to their royal
visitor. In Gifford I the rank status of Fevanga, the girl's father, is expressly specified as that of 'attendant (*takanga*) to the Tu'i Tonga'. That is to say, he is a matāpule (see Gifford, 1929, p. 140). The mythical kava-leper girl is therefore again an offering that mediates the opposition between a matāpule as donor and a Tu'i Tonga as recipient.

(iii) In contrast, in Bott II, the victim's elder half-brothers are both the donors and the recipients of the sacrifice. There is no opposition that can be 'mediated'; on the contrary the donor-recipients of the offering carry their identification with the victim so far that they devour him. But here again it turns out that the ritual of the kava has established a relationship between matāpule and Tu'i Tonga.

[276] This treatment of the material, both ritual and mythical,
[574] implies the following triads of 'mediated oppositions':

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Opposed categories *X*	 *Y*	*Mediating third term* *Z*
donor	receiver	gift
matāpule	presiding chief	kava
foreigner	Tongan	wife to foreigner sister to Tongan
sister's husband	younger brother	elder sister
half-brother	half-brother	Bott I common mother Bott II common father
Rank derived from both parents	Title derived from father	Ancestral Tu'i Tonga Fefine

In each of the three columns *X*, *Y*, and *Z* any one of the items is the symbolic equivalent of any other.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE

So finally we return once more to the initial problem of ritual interpretation. In the performance of the kava ceremonial as described above (pp. 207–15) what is really going on? When the matāpule order the distribution of the kava, what is it that is being distributed? Can we ignore the Christian context noted (p. 242)? Is the Eucharistic flavour just accidental? [121]

Bott II explicitly exhibits the Tu'i Tonga being produced by a kava rite, yet structural analysis implies an identification of the kava with the female principle of rank derived from an ancestral Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

Whether we follow the 'overt' implications of the mythology or resort to a structuralist interpretation we are only offered three alternatives as to what the kava 'symbolizes':

Kava is: *either*

The body of the leprous daughter of the matāpule mystically transformed (as in Bott I)

or

The body of the Tu'i Tonga himself mystically transformed (as in Bott II)

or

Some mystical (incestuous) combination of the male

and female potencies of the Tu‘i Tonga and the Tu‘i
276 Tonga Fefine (as in *Figure 3*, p. 261).

574
539 The last alternative is no more metaphysical then the normal
773 Christian assertion that, in the Mass, the bread and the wine become the body and blood of Jesus Christ and, in some mystical sense, a manifestation of his purifying potency.

276 This homology with the Christian Mass seems to me too
574 striking to be ignored, but how should we explain it? Does it
539 arise from a subliminal influence of Christian ideas working
773 on the minds of recent Tongan mythographers (*supra*, p. 242), or
177
771 does it represent a direct parallel between traditional Christianity and traditional Polynesian thought at a structural level of apprehension? As to the first of these alternatives, we have evidence that, in at least one detail, the mythology has undergone a recent modification to keep it in line with a modification of the ritual. Bott I says that the leper girl on ‘Eueiki was pounded to death; it thus fits the modern procedure of pounding the kava root. But Bott tells us that the substitution of pounding for chewing in the actual ritual is a recent innovation (*supra*, p. 244).

Evidence of this kind is bound to raise doubts about how far we can regard *any* of the mythology as traditionally authentic, but my own view, for what it is worth, is that the Christian era modifications of pre-Christian materials have not been substantial. It is rather that the more or less accidental fit between certain themes in Polynesian kinship ideology and certain aspects of the Christian dogma of the Virgin Birth have provided a favourable climate for the survival of a very un-Christian body of mythology.

In my own words, the kava ceremonial reduced to its most skeletal form may be described as follows:

> A semi-poisonous food substance (the kava plant) is first identified with the Presiding Chief, then it is removed from him and ritually processed according to the instructions of the Presiding *Matāpule* so as to convert it into a sacramental drink which is then imbibed by all the principal title holders present.

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There is a *direct* parallel between this ritual performance and 276
the theme of cannibalism in Bott II. The parallel is also very 574
Christian. The sacramental kava is the 'body and blood of the 773
sacrificed man-god'. 539

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But the mythology of Bott I suggests a different pattern, for 771
in the latter case the emphasis is on paired oppositions rather 276
than assimilation, and on incestuous and non-incestuous sex 574
relations between men and women rather than on love-hate 773
relationships between men. 539

In the real life ceremonial the *'alofi* circle is in two halves and the semi-circle of the presiding chief stands in polar opposition to the semi-circle of the kava bowl (Bott, *Figure 2*, p. 209).

Considering the sequence as a whole, both in its ritual and in its mythological aspects the following paired relationships are implied, with the qualification, already noted (p. 264), that the (apparent) relative secularity of food as against drink may be a recent modification:

Ritual oppositions		*Mythological oppositions*
Chief's semi-circle	*kava bowl semi-circle*	
matāpule : chief	kava maker : kava	
secular : sacred	food : drink	sugar cane : kava
		non-poisonous : poisonous
		beautiful : leprous
		son : daughter
		male : female

This patterning of ritual and mythological ideas exists in a secular context in which there is a real life 'contradiction' by which, although titles pass from fathers to sons, sisters rank higher than brothers (*supra*, p. 246).

It is an arrangement that provides the framework for a ritual enactment of a marked ambivalence in the relationship between the presiding chief and the presiding matāpule (*supra*, p. 262). The *manifest* behaviour in the ritual is one of friendly gift-giving, but the implications of the mythical background

276 are that there is an undercurrent of jealousy and hate (*supra*,
574 p. 258) and that the assembled matāpule are only willing to
539 recognize the potency of ritual chieftainship because they are
773 concerned to assimilate that potency to themselves.

276 For those who are prepared to give any credence at all to this
574 style of analysis the general significance of the ceremony has by
539 now become very obvious, indeed it has been indicated al-
773 ready at several points during the course of this essay.[11]

177 When the male titleholders sitting in the *'alofi* circle drink the
771 kava and receive the distributions of sugar cane these are sacramental foods in the same sense as are the bread and wine of the Christian Mass. At a mystical level they are the equivalent of the divine potency that distinguishes the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Tonga Fefine from ordinary mortals.

Of the two substances, it is the kava rather than the sugar cane that now carries real sacramental value and the significance of this fact is to be found in the circumstance that not only are the Tu'i Tonga descended from an original incestuous relationship between a male and female Tu'i Tonga but that the matāpule are likewise so descended. 'A great aristocrat is one descended, preferably through a line of elder sisters, from the elder sister of the Tu'i Tonga' (Bott, p. 218).

By the ritual drinking of kava the titleholder concerned reaffirms his aristocratic status, he assimilates to himself once again the magical, matrilineally inherited, potency of his divine ancestors. By so doing he asserts his equality, or even his superiority, to the personal status of his presiding chief.

When one considers that in Christian theology, Jesus is divine by filiation from the Father but human and royal by an ambiguous filiation through the mother, it is not after all surprising that the kava mythology, in its modern form, despite the hints of cannibalism and incest, should make mystical sense to devout Christians.

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82: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

FINAL NOTE ON METHOD

Let me return to my initial thesis. The analysis that I have 121 presented employs a combination of 'structuralist' and 'functionalist' techniques. In so far as I use functionalist assumptions I have operated intensively within a very narrow range of ethnographic data and I have adhered to the Malinowskian dogma that myth and ritual are two aspects of the same thing. But I have combined this orthodoxy with many features of structuralist procedure and I believe that the outcome is to be preferred to either a functionalist or a psychoanalytical interpretation of the more usual sort because it depends much less on intuition. Even so my argument might be criticized as superficial. Even if Bott were to agree that the mystical identity 121 between the kava on the one hand and the potency of the Tu'i 114 Tonga Fefine on the other has now been established (as I think perhaps she does), she might still argue that the concatenation, in such a context, of themes of cannibalism and incest is too suggestive to be ignored and that, at this 'deeper' level, the Freudian approach adds insights that neither functionalism nor structuralism can provide. On this issue I am not fully persuaded one way or the other. Certainly the convergence between Bott's Freudian approach and my own structural analysis seems very striking. But it was Audrey Richards's *Chisungu* that first convinced me that these matters are far more multivalent than I had once supposed, so it is to Audrey that I now offer this essay in uncertain analysis.

NOTES

1. In terms of our value system it might further appear that the 114 younger half-brother is in each case 'illegitimate', but Dr Bott assures 539 me that this would not be the case according to Tongan idiom. 773

2. 'The basic meaning of the term mātipule seems to be sister's 276 husband (M.S.)' (Gifford, 1929, p. 29). Hence it is a term of 574 respect. As a *title*, it denotes the ceremonial attendant of a chief. 565 Titles are hereditary in the male line and in most cases the patrilienages that own matāpule titles are of 'foreign' origin, e.g. they are supposed to have come from Fiji or Samoa.

565 554 3. The Tu'i Tonga Fefine held office until death so that she might
644 be, on occasion, the reigning Tu'i Tonga's father's sister.

4. Eua is the smallest of the inhabited islands of the Tongan
539 group. 'Eueiki is ordinarily uninhabited and, as is well known to all
773 Tongans, it is very difficult to land there because of the nature of the
reef (Bott, personal communication).

539 5. Bott comments that this notion of 'illegitimacy' is modern.
773 Formerly 'in the bush' meant 'of low rank', i.e. the offspring of a
848 temporary liaison between an important man and a woman of low
554 status. The child of a liaison between two aristocrats of comparable
status would not be described in this way (cf. p. 246).

276 6. Bott, p. 216. 'There are other linguistic links with the idea of
kava as a poison. *Kavafisi* and *kavahaha* are creepers used as fish
poisons. The word "*kavahia*" means to be nauseated.'

773 7. Cf. note 5. 'Aho'eitu has a human mother and a heavenly
539 father.

8. One explicit tradition asserts that the child of Nua, the girl from 'Eueiki, was named Uanga and that this Uanga succeeded as Tu'i Tonga (Gifford, 1924, p. 49).

9. Gifford (1924, p. 46), which records the incest of Tu'itātui with his sister Latūtama, implies that the child of this liaison was named Talamāta and that Talamata succeeded as Tu'i Tonga. Gifford (1929, p. 53) assumes that Uanga and Talamata are two names for the same historical individual.

10. Although the 'original' Tu'i Lakepa is supposed to have been
276 a Fijian who was elder sister's husband to a Tu'i Tonga this title is
574 not now considered to carry *matāpule* rank (Bott, personal communication; cf. Gifford, 1929, p. 34).

276 11. Firth (1970, pp. 199–233) gives an account of kava ritual
574 and myth in Tikopia which can usefully be compared with the
539 analysis given above. In Tikopia, as in Tonga, there are two main
773 versions of the mythology but the roles are reversed. A healthy boy
171 replaces the leper girl; a female spirit who 'dies' in childbirth and then survives as the Female Deity of Tikopia replaces the male 'Aho'eitu who is murdered and then survives as the Tu'i Tonga. The Tikopia libate their kava; the Tongans drink theirs. It may be noted that the appearance of the Female Deity in the Tikopia pattern is consistent not only with the function attributed to the Tu'i Tonga Fefine in this present paper but also with other characteristics of the Female Deity to which I have drawn attention elsewhere (Leach, 1961, p. 21).

A rejoinder to Edmund Leach

ELIZABETH BOTT

I find myself captivated by the intellectual elegance of Dr Leach's analysis. I accept as plausible the series of symbolic links establishing the mystical identity between kava on the one hand and descent from women on the other, and, with a little misgiving, descent from the Tu'i Tonga Fefine in particular. The symbolic linking of Kava (the leprous girl of 'Eueiki) with Nua (the beautiful spirit girl of 'Eueiki) seems indisputable, and the two Nua are the Tu'i Tonga's daughter, his mother, and his wife. (Nua 1 is the daughter of Lo'au who is equated/confused with the Tu'i Tonga. Nua 1 is also the wife of Tu'i Tonga Momo and the mother of Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui. Nua 2, the spirit girl of 'Eueiki, marries Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui.) Kava is equivalent to the Tu'i Tonga's sister only through an indirect link: Kava = Nua = Tu'i Tonga's wife = Latūtama, the sister of Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui. Assuming that Nua 1 is the mother of Latūtama as well as the mother of Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui, which the myth does not explicitly state, the link between kava and the sister of the Tu'i Tonga is more direct, for then Kava = Nua = mother of Latūtama.

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All this fills in much more adequately what Leach rightly calls my 'wild guessing' about the links between the 'Aho'eitu myth and the kava myth. And from it follows the conclusion [574] that whereas the seating of the ceremony expresses the fixed and theoretically unchanging relationships of *titles* to one another, the making and drinking of kava reaffirms the aristo-

[p.277]

114 cratic status of the title*holders* and their mystical assimilation
276 to their divine ancestress, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

773 Of the many equivalences that can be established, it seems
539 to me plausible that the kava itself embodies not only the
[574] divine ancestress, the Tu'i Tonga's sister, but also the Tu'i Tonga. Kava and sugar cane grow out of the earth-buried body of the murdered leper girl. But 'Aho'eitu grows out of the body of an earth-woman, and is then chewed, spat out and mixed with water as if he himself were kava. Out of this grows the Tu'i Tonga, so that when the kava is ritually consumed, what is being assimilated is not only the leper girl/Nua/daughter/mother/wife/sister of the Tu'i Tonga, but also the Tu'i Tonga himself. Thus the kava making and drinking would express the mystical union of man and woman, the derivation of man from woman and woman from man, and the insoluble puzzle of the first ancestor.

114 There is a detail that neither Leach's analysis nor mine
276 fully explains. In the kava ceremony of the Tu'i Kanokupolu
574 and Ha'a Ngata, which was the type observed by Mariner,
539 Gifford, and my husband and me, the sugar cane (or pork) is
773 distributed to the kava drinkers, but they do not eat it. The kava drinkers summon their 'grandchildren of high rank' (*mokapuna 'eiki*) to take it away. According to the kava myth both the sugar cane and the kava plant grew out of the body of the murdered leper girl, but the sugar cane grew out of a lower part of the body. I agree with Leach that the ritual and mythological oppositions establish sugar cane as secular/food/non-poisonous/beautiful/son/male/of lower rank – many of these being attributes concerning titles and the relationships of political authority and obligations that titles involve. Further, the Tongan word for the food presented to the kava drinkers is *fono*, which is a homonym for a political meeting at which a chief gives orders to his people. It looks as if there is a paradoxical difference between the female substance (kava) and the male substance (fono) that grow out of the leper girl/beautiful boy. The female substance is of higher rank than the

83: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

male substance but can be consumed. The male substance is of 114
lower rank but can only be consumed by those of higher rank 276
than the kava drinkers. The male substance is thus simul- 579
taneously 'lower' and 'higher', just as brothers are simulta- 539 773
neously lower and higher than their sisters – lower in rank but greater in political power.

On one occasion I observed a kava ceremony of the 'King of the Second House' (Tu'i Fale Ua or Tu'i Pelehake), to which title the last Tu'i Tonga is said to have bequeathed his kava rites. In this ceremony the chief ate his *fono*. So did the Falefā, the titles of the four mythical half-brothers of 'Aho'eitu, and so did certain other 'foreign' matāpule who are said to have been specifically exempted from the *tapu* of eating in the presence of the Tu'i Tonga. Unfortunately I did not discover whether the King of the Second House ate his *fono* in his capacity as Tu'i Tonga or in his capacity as King of the Second House. Cook is the only authority I have found who gives a description of the Tu'i Tonga's kava ceremony, and he does not include this detail. The present-day eating of the *fono* in the kava ceremony of the 'King of the Second House' may therefore mean either a ritual repetition of the original eating up of 'Aho'eitu, or, more probably, a symbolic statement to the effect that only titles that are either (a) the embodiment of the Tu'i Tonga or (b) ritual outsiders can assimilate themselves directly to the male principle of the Tu'i Tonga/Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

What of Leach's claim that structuralist analysis is 'intui- 114
tion free'? In the sense that the analysis uses as data only 121
texts, ceremonies, and abstractions of organizational principles, it is relatively free from contamination either by the observer's or the informants' imputations of meaning and feeling to behaviour. Fieldwork becomes unnecessary, except that one must have a little contact with informants in order to collect texts, observe the ceremonies, and abstract the organizational principles. The analysis requires familiarity with and acceptance of the condensations, displacements, representation by

84: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

Figure II

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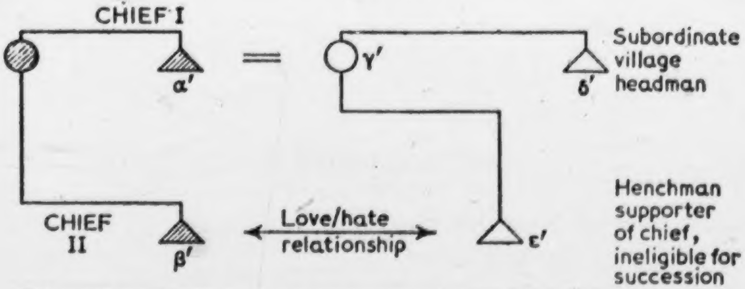
CHIEF I
α′
=
γ′
δ′
Subordinate village headman
CHIEF II
β′
Love/hate relationship
ε′
Henchman supporter of chief, ineligible for succession

The Tongan structure corresponds to that of *Figure I* but with the special characteristic that, because γ has explicitly higher personal rank than α, ϵ may be of higher personal rank than β, even though β is politically superior.

[565] [607] The relationship between the titles of β and ϵ is that of chief to matāpule. The base meaning of the term matāpule is 'sister's husband' (see note 2, p. 274). Thus the terminology corresponds to ϵ/α in *Figure I*. But, in the mythology and in the kava ceremonial, the relationship between β and ϵ is that of 'half-brother through a common mother'. If we apply this equivocation to *Figure I*, then it is at once apparent that the common mother must be γ, which is precisely the outcome of the full-scale analysis, which is developed around text *Figure 3* (p. 261).[1]

[276] [574] [554] In assessing the relationship between this analysis and that advanced by Goody with regard to the Tongan institution of *fahu*, the reader should bear in mind that, in the case of kava ceremonial, the relationships are those of the titles and not those of actual individuals. The claims of ϵ against β are strictly mythological and it cannot possibly be argued that 'the exclusion of the sister's children from succession is in flagrant contradiction to their claims in property' (Goody, 1969, p. 81).

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[1] /See 82: Leach -- Analyst/

643 social and ceremonial status because of her *kāinga* relationship to the Tu'i Tonga.
644 But the Tamaha did not have highest rank and little effective power, this being
554 necessary in order to avoid power play at this high level. This delicate matter was
562 handled in a very sophisticated manner. The Tu'i Tonga Fefine was of such high
rank that no Tongan was high enough to marry her, so she was married to a
foreigner—a Fijian. Thus her children, because of the patrilineal emphasis of the
[611] society, belonged to a foreign line—the Fale Fisi. Rulers did not come from
foreign lines so there could be no problem in mixing succession to title with *kāinga*
rank.

644 'Latoo' (Latunipulu), at the time of Cook, was a son of the Tu'i Tonga's sister
554 and thus higher in *kāinga* status. Latunipulu's title was Tu'i Lakepa, which is the
[612] senior line of the Fale Fisi. He in turn was outranked by his sister, the Tamaha
Moungalakepa, whom Cook also met. When the Tamaha is not present, however,
one of her siblings can take her place, thus the Latoo in these early accounts was an
exalted personage indeed—but not the king.

643 In order to appreciate the significance of Cook[illegible]urnals in these matters, one
174 must also understand a third dimension of Tongan rank—i.e., the ranking of
554 chiefly titles, which originated by collateral segmentation from the Tu'i Tonga
line. The Tu'i Tonga, having power of life and death over their subjects, often
found themselves very unpopular and several Tu'i Tonga were assassinated. In
about the fifteenth century the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga appointed his younger
brother as a subsidiary ruler, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, who was given temporal
power, while the Tu'i Tonga retained for himself high rank and spiritual status.
The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua created a similar split in authority, reserving for
himself high rank and giving to one of his sons the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu and
the tasks of ruling and collecting tribute. Eventually the second line lost in status
as the power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu grew. All these lines descended ultimately
[611] from 'Aho'eitu and were further linked by marriage.

Mariwaggy (Maealiuaki) mentioned in Cook's third voyage accounts was the
175 fourteenth Tu'i Takalaua and later the eighth Tu'i Kanokupolu—the titular head
643 of Ha'a Ngata. Otago (Siale'ataongo) belonged to the Ha'a Ngata line. Feenaugh
613 (Finau Ulukalala Feletoa) of Vava'u, was of even lower rank—being a member of
634 Ha'a Ngata Tupu, which descended from the fifth Tu'i Kanokupolu. Finau was a
554 great warrior and gave a lavish entertainment for Cook at which there was so much
food that Cook remarked it 'exceeded any present I had ever before received from
[574] an Indian Prince' (Beaglehole 1967: 108). Finau's line, though he tried to make
[648] Cook believe he was king of all the Friendly Isles (1967: 100), was of a line far
inferior in rank to the Tu'i Tonga. When Paulaho, the Tu'i Tonga, finally appears
on Cook's stage, Finau put Paulaho's foot to his head and retired from the cabin,
not being able to eat or drink in the Tu'i Tonga's presence. This was because
Finau traced his ancestry, according to the societal segmentation, back to the Tu'i
Tonga and was thereby related to him.

175 But Finau was not so related to Latunipulu and we are fortunate to have Cook's
634 description of the interaction between them. They simply ignored each other.
644 Cook tells us that Latunipulu was in a canoe under the stern of the *Resolution* and
Finau 'was on board at the same time but neither took any notice of the other'
571 (Beaglehole 1967: 111). Here we see that the Tamaha has no general power over

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Table 3. Initial Residence in Motulahi of Adults Resident in Motulahi in 1970, by Age

Circumstances of Initial Residence	Age Group 20—29 (N=174) %	30—49 (N=224) %	50+ (N=95) %	Total (N=492) %
Born in Motulahi	35.1	28.1	16.0	28.3
Came Before Age 20	31.0	25.0	11.7	24.6
Came as an Adult	33.9	46.9	72.3	47.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1

Source: Field notes.

125 ethnographic censusing, it is not clear how they are to be presented in a quantifiable form without violating their ethnographic integrity.

Thus, the problem of establishing culturally meaningful indices of migration in Tonga remains. One solution might be to examine how long each person has resided at the place of enumeration. Indeed, this was one of the recommendations made in the official report on the 1956 census (Tupouniua 1958: 28). The recommendation was not imple-
574 mented in the next census, however. The difficulty is that visiting away from home with friends and relatives for a few days or weeks is a favorite activity of Tongans, particularly among young unmarried adults, and such short-term population movements would distort any index of population flow based on the length of residence at the place of enumeration.
574 One cannot get around this problem by asking about the person's normal
591 or ordinary place of permanent residence, because Tongans do not have our concept of permanent residence; instead, they recognize different kinds of what we would call "temporary residence" (see Decktor Korn 1975). This difficulty might be dealt with by enquiring how long the person has/had been living at the place where he was resident for the majority of the previous twelve months. While this does not produce an index of migration, it could serve as an index of the extent of residential stability.

125 As to the question of population flow, an improvement on comparison of place of birth and place of enumeration would be to ask where the

342 verandah, with a well-nurtured flower
351 garden at the front and a large stretch
of smooth lawn at the back, edged with
laden banana trees and other useful
sources of food and shade.

575 The *Langa Fonua* House was bought
462 in September, 1957, for £4,500, the
[342] money and Tongan furnishings (mats,
etc.) being collected throughout the
[435] Kingdom by women's groups. It is
used for general and committee meet-
575 ings and for a series of valuable classes
in cookery, sewing, child welfare, first
462 aid, English and Tongan. These classes
873 are attended by members of *Langa
Fonua* from Tongatapu villages and are
taught by volunteer instructors, both
[342] Tongan and European. It is a dignified
yet functional house, preserving in its
family furnishings the quality of a lived-in home.

Five-Day Courses For Women Leaders

575 It was in this house that three five-day
462 courses were conducted by Miss June
873 Summerton of the South Pacific Health
648 Service and myself, and in its spacious
living rooms that we ate and slept and
had our office.

●574 We were cared for with that all-inclusive, thoughtful, unobtrusive and capacious hospitality for which Tonga is famous, delicacies or extra equipment frequently appearing from the Palace.

Receptions, dinners, cocktail parties and above all feasts and a gay and totally unsuspected surprise party organised by Princess Melenaite with the

[P.26-D]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 27-B]

ever-competent assistance of the A.D.C. 574
punctuated our days and nights.

Daily Feasts

During the first course the delegates 575
came from the far-away islands of 462
Vava'u and Ha'apai and the nearer Eua, 873
so they were daily entertained by a 574
different local village which provided 264
them with three handsome meals, the
midday dinner being served on low
tables on the *Langa Fonua* back ver-
andah. A lorry would arrive between [262]
11.30 and 12, a team of servers gaily
garlanded would leap forth and unload [252]
great plaited coconut frond *pola* or stretchers laden with delicious food—long yams or taro down each side forming a protective wall for the pyramid of whole sucking pigs (the pig population in 1955 was 30,000), chickens, shellfish, fresh fish, salads, water melons and the popular *lu pulu* (corned beef cooked with coconut cream and wrapped in taro leaves) as well as a special local cassava and caramel pudding also wrapped in green leaves.

We would sit, a company of about [533]
35 to 40, on the floor round this long
laden table and eat with our fingers, [534]
helping ourselves freely while the host [535]
team entertained us with ukulele, songs
and high-spirited dances in which many
of us took part as a healthy digestive to
the superb meal. Speeches from the [537]
visitors and hosts took place throughout
the meal, the orator frequently weeping [201]
as a gesture of appreciation of such generous hospitality.

Then would follow the afternoon ses-
sion, which on three days appropriately [177]
consisted of a talk on food values and a cooking demonstration.

Sunday was the final feast of that first week, at the house of the A.D.C. and his wife, the Hon. Vaea and Tuputupu, where European custom of linen and cutlery mingled with the lavish, genial festivity of Tonga.

The average attendance was 35 at these five-day courses for women leaders from different areas.

Courses For Village Instructors

Tonga has much the same difficulty 621
as other countries throughout the world 873
regarding village work, namely, the 575
problem of keeping up interest without 462
extraneous leadership. The morning
sessions were consequently directed to- 177

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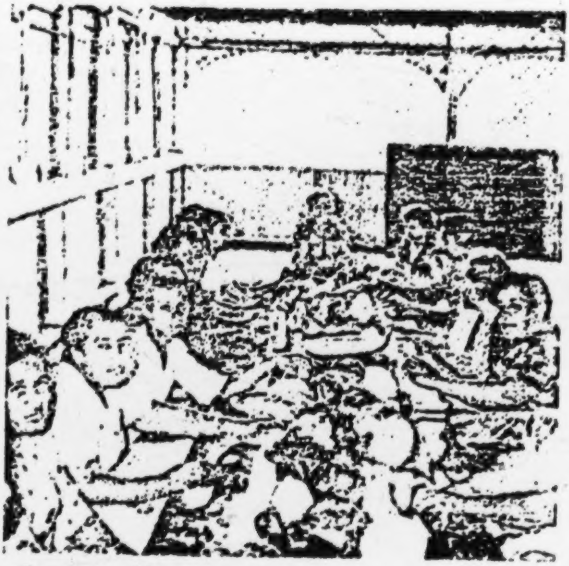

Midday feast between classes—Miss Stewart at end of table, Miss Summerton on her left. The delegates attending this course were all from other Islands, and each day they were entertained by a different local village which provided three lavish meals, the midday one being a full feast.

[P. 28-A]

/19 cont./

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426 brought him a profit of £T 75 (about
434 700 German marks).

181 In the villages of the small Tonga Islands almost every group having
264 a meal together will invite one or more passersby to eat with them;
574 the guest is given the best, and at the larger festivals which, since
the "democratization," have moved more within the commoners' realm
(private persons, kautaha or cooperative labor pools, and churches
as organizers), they usually do not economize in expenses.

181 European influence has been able to change but little their
177 general good nature and hospitality, especially since life in the
villages has remained easy and carefree. Yet the influx of money is
181 to be observed. On the small islands there are relatively few
177 natives who /20/ hand over to their fellow villagers the products of
184 their plantations and other goods for money, (11)
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437 and they are generally felt to be outsiders in the community. In places
like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, on the other hand, there are many of them
and there, in the gradually urbanized settlements with European
commercial enterprises, selling is taken for granted among the Tongans.

> 11. Often they exchange value for value, for example a length of tapa for a pig. However, giving without direct quid pro quo, this old system of Tongan community life (a perpetual assurance of reciprocity) is still, on an island like Nomuka, more frequent than barter; it is practiced mostly in the Ha'apai group, less in Tongatapu and Vava'u, and seems rather suppressed in places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu.

181 Yet business acumen is little developed among these natives. (12)
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> 12. For example, Tongans who help the "medicine dispenser" on the plantations of Nomuka would rather accept a packet of tobacco than a seven shillings wage per day, though in the shops of the same island they have no

/55 cont./

291 Yet nowadays, on the small islands (as well as on the outskirts of the "chief city") one sees children (especially boys) run around naked up to about five years (in exceptional cases up to nine years) even /56/ on Sundays. The reason for this is the indifference and
[296] convenience of the parents who, because of the rapid deterioration of fabrics resulting from improper treatment naturally find it very difficult always to dress their numerous children (as many as 12) "decently." As a rule, however, people make an effort to dress their
[177] children in small vala or panties of European fabric, and if possible,
[292] make small shirts for boys and little dresses for girls to wear on Sundays, often with the addition of small ta'o-vala for the boys.

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178 Summarizing the change in Tongan clothing, we note primarily the replacement of the tapa and a definitive acceptance of full covering. Tongan women, when dyeing (koka'anga) the long lengths of
[386] tapa, often wrap a piece of old tapa around their hips to protect their fabric clothing from color spatters. If they come as guests
[574] to a festival they will sometimes wear, as a vala, the tapa they have
[431] brought their hosts as a gift, and at many large dances (146)
[535] women and men (if they take part) still like to adorn themselves with tapa. Aside from that, however, tapa as clothing has disappeared from Tongan life. Moreover, in the villages and in public no Tongan man or woman may defy the general fashion of clothing the upper part of their bodies. Yet the change is not as complete as in other areas of Polynesia, for example on Tahiti. For most of the Tongan men and women still adhere to the form of the vala and wear the belt mats (ta'o-vala)--probably no less than in ancient Tonga. Footgear and headgear have not become common.

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146. For example, the laka-laka, ula, ma'ulu'ulu and me'etu'upaki. For details see "Dances," p. 395 ff.

/75 cont./

584 582 apparently occur more seldom today. Kinship marriages (cousins) are very rare, since the brother-sister taboo extends to this degree of relationship and is still very much in effect. However, as in former times, people like to marry on the same island and in the same district--though avoiding all kinfolk.

832 177 The Tongan ideal of feminine beauty has changed. The obese type with very fat legs is no longer favored, but rather the well-rounded, somewhat sturdy girl is preferred. This change of taste undoubtedly came about through acquaintance with the European ideal by way of films and photographs in magazines and newspapers. Yet the beautiful white girl type is still too thin for most Tongans.

581 A young man who likes a girl because of her beauty and/or her domestic efficiency and her character well enough to marry her may not at once become friends with her publicly. An unmarried Tongan man is 584 571 generally not permitted (217)

217. That is to say, on the small islands; in the seaports this custom is being relaxed.

(558) to go for a walk with a girl in the village. The girl's reputation would be ruined if, for example, she were seen sitting alone with (177) a young man on the beach by moonlight. Such "English customs" are still disapproved by most Tongans. European manifestations 832 177 of tenderness--such as a kiss on the lips--have not found general acceptance. (218)

218. The nose kiss (*'uma*) is, however, still very common; this touching of nose to nose (while holding one's breath) is done chiefly when relatives greet each other after a rather long separation.

574 584 276 The best opportunity to become acquainted with a girl, to be together with her, is still the social event of a kava gathering. (219)

/75 cont./

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584
276 219. Compare p. 144 ff.

Either the young man now visits kava gatherings where the /76/ girl he desires is already preparing the kava, or he will gather together several young men, go to the place where the girl lives with her parents, and ask her to prepare kava for the little group. Such kava gatherings may last from early evening until far into the night, sometimes even until daybreak. The visitors, talk and sing, perhaps also to guitar accompaniment, while the girl prepares the kava. The young man who has his eye on the girl also has a chance, in the general conversation, to exchange a few words with her, but sometimes, as a result of adverse circumstances or his own shyness, he can only gaze at her the whole evening. This somewhat passive courtship may go on for months until the young man, at a kava gathering, if he manages to sit next to the girl, will confess his great love for her, beg her to marry him and will ask when the wedding can take place. In case the girl does not disapprove, she usually answers that he should decide the time of the marriage. The young Tongan goes home and tells his parents that he wishes to marry this girl and that she is willing.

584
431
574
276 Then one evening, he, his father and perhaps two relatives (cousins, brothers of the bridegroom or of the father) go together to the house of the girl's father with a long piece of kava (kava tafuna), the contents of a large earth oven (for example, a pig, yams, breadfruit, taro, sweet potatoes) or a 40-pound canister (or two) of zwieback. They place the kava and the rest of the gifts in the center of the house and the girl's father, she herself (possibly also her mother) and the newcomers form a kava circle. The bridegroom's

584
574
276 father brings up his son's request, the girl's father expresses his thanks and asks the girl. After she has agreed to the suit, the

/76 cont./

584 father likewise makes known his positive decision, the wedding day is
574 set, (220)
276 kava is drunk, the details are discussed and the gathering breaks up.

584 In case the girl or her father (or both) reject the proposition,
[431] the young man's party returns home immediately and, in most cases, leaves behind the gifts that were brought. The latter are sometimes returned to the suitor. The matter is then dismissed, unless the girl who is willing to marry persuades her father to change his mind, or the two young people decide on a flight marriage (see p. 66).

584 This method of courtship, despite all formality, appears to be
574 the changed, simplified, "modern" way. The undoubtedly older form
604 of courtship, in which, since in old times, /77/ the brothers of the
[178] father had the last word and an important role, also still exists, especially, of course, in the villages of the small islands. In this case the paternal uncle of the young man eager for marriage goes
[431] to the paternal uncle of the girl he has chosen, and takes along kava and food (earth oven: pig and produce from the plantings; today also more often in the modern manner, a large canister of zwieback or a number of loaves of white bread). There he asks the girl's uncle for
[276] his consent to the marriage; however, usually he is not given an answer immediately, but after a kava drink they part, for the paternal uncle or the girl must first ask her. After three or four days or after a week the young man's uncle again visits the girl's uncle and is given the answer. This is, of course, "yes" if the girl and her uncle consent. The answer is negative if the girl is disinclined. In case the uncle rejects the proposal, but the girl is in favor of it, the answer may be positive (lost authority of the paternal uncle?),

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220. For example, in a week; sometimes also a few days later, so that no other youth will "run away" with the girl.

/77 cont./

584 especially if the girl's family do not wish her to change her mind.
574 If the outcome is positive, the two paternal uncles decide on the
604 date of the wedding.

In any case, the consent of the girl is essential. This is probably similar to conditions in ancient Tonga, for Mariner reports that the majority of women married of their own free will. (221)

> 221. That is to say, those who, in his opinion, did not belong to the group of women two-thirds ^A of whom/one-third? see footnote 216 F. S./ were betrothed in early childhood to men of higher rank (J. Martin, loc cit. II. p. 167).

584 Until the wedding, the bridegroom then mostly visits his bride every evening while her parents are asleep, and chats with her, especially about the forthcoming festivity. Nothing else happens. However, it may also come about that the partners marry without ever having talked together previously (the older custom?). In some cases
[574] the father of the bridegroom sends food and kava every evening until
[431] the wedding day to the girl's place (for her and her parents); the
[276] bridegroom and his relatives go there, drink kava, chat and sing (and dance).

585 On the day of the wedding, the bridegroom dons his best vala and
292 his best shirt, in addition to several ta'o-vala (of the finest quality: the kie Tonga), (222)

> 222. Compare p. 310-312.

hangs one or two sisi kakala (223)

> 223. Compare p. 82-84.

around his shoulders and fetches his bride, who is wearing a particularly fine dress and likewise some three kie Tonga and sisi kakala, from her place in order to go with her to the registrar (or to ride if the latter is in another village or on another island) where the
585 official marriage certificate is drawn up. Several /78/ relatives
602

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^A [See footnote 216 on p. 108--Analyst]

/78 cont./

585 292 177 "European wedding," that is to say, one in European wedding dress, (224)

224. Namely: long white dress, veil and shoes for the bride, white suit and shoes for the bridegroom (with a flower in his buttonhole); often with flower girls and an English wedding cake.

is rare, even in the seaports. This type of wedding is arranged either because people want to imitate the example of whites or for the simple reason that they are not in a position to be extravagant with traditional Tongan things (mats), and the European wedding finery is perhaps more easily obtainable; both reasons may also come together.

585 602 The bridegroom with his relatives now fetches his bride and her relatives from her house and leads her to his place. /79/ Close relatives of the bridal couple (especially the respective tu'a-sina [see above]) follow the bridegroom and bride in this procession, carrying the wedding baskets (kato alu; see p. 317), in which lie a European bottle with Tongan oil (lolo Tonga), a head rest (kali) and other personal articles, each on a ta'o-vala (225)

225. See page 308.

585 178 184 This custom is, however, becoming rather infrequent nowadays. In a town like Fungamisi (neighboring village of the seaport Neiafu/Vava'u) a kato uli is no longer seen at any wedding, and in a village like 'Uiha (on the more remote island of 'Uiha) only a few weddings take place with a wedding basket, whereas in Felemea, situated on the same island, one may see the kato alu being used more often, and even Tongans who normally use a European pillow for sleeping, have a headrest carried behind them at their wedding.

585 574 554 At the bridegroom's place a long roofing of plaited coconut palm twigs (also often of corrugated iron) is erected, underneath

/79 cont./

585 574 [554] which all the guests seat themselves along with the couple who occupy the place of honor, namely the chieftain's place. Even at a simple wedding there may be 80 persons assembled. 585 574 276 It is now three or four o'clock in the afternoon. Kava is prepared,. (226)

226. See page 144ff.

and the bride, as the principal person, is given the most honorable, third cup, even if it is a wedding of commoners and a chief is present as a guest. [604] In this kava circle the bride and bridegroom sit on the laps of their respective maternal uncles (tu'a-sina). 585 574 431 Following this, the mats and tapa brought as gifts by the two kinship groups are distributed, after the bridal couple have received their share, and the contents of the earth oven (or ovens, see above) are distributed among the relatives of the bride and groom. This food is not immediately eaten (or only part of it) while most of it (227)

227. Sometimes a regular meal is eaten.

585 is taken home. The bride also goes to her paternal home along with her relatives, while the bridegroom remains behind.

It is only on the following evening, or even after two or three (177) days, that the bride returns with her relatives; her mother or her mother's brother (tu'a-sina) carries her bed (mats, (228)

228. They consist chiefly of the fala paongo, fala tutu'ila, fala fihu.

tapa and usually a European sheet and pillow) into the house of the [574] [276] [202] (178) bridegroom. The relatives (229)

229. According to the original custom, only older women who acted as witnesses; today, however, a rather large circle of individuals of both sexes.

of both sides gather together in a kava circle which lasts into the night, amid talking and singing: they are waiting for the marriage to be consummated. The next morning, the sheet (or tapa) is

/81 cont./

844 ma'uli (the Tongan midwife). Her mother and her sister are also fetched if they can be reached. --The newborn child is washed and rubbed with Tongan oil (lolo Tonga). /82/ Rubbing with turmeric
844
178 (kurkuma) (235) is apparently no longer practiced, neither in the case of the child nor the mother. The old custom of burying the umbilical cord is, however, still widespread it is, of course, omitted in hospital births. The umbilical cord, after it is cut off, is wrapped in a piece of tapa or feta'aki (raw tapa) (also possibly in a piece of European cloth) and buried near the house by the father, in a hole approximately 3/4 to $1^1/2$ meters deep. In order to mark the spot, it is buried under a tree, for example, or else a stone is placed on the spot, or a flower or a sapling are planted on it. Even in a village like Fungamisi, the settlement bordering the seaport Neiafu, this custom is still commonly observed. Many people forget the place where their children's umbilical cords are buried, while, on the other hand, very modern and progressive Tongans keep careful track of the spots.

553 If the child's father is present, the child is given a name on the day of its birth. If the father happens to be on a trip to another island, his return is awaited. According to the old
[604] custom, the father's sister (mehekitanga) names the child (chooses its name). The father himself can also give the name, but not the mother of the child.

846
574 Birth was and is, in general, not connected with special

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[113]

235. Compare J. Wilson, Missions-Reise in das sudliche stille Meer /Mission journey to the South Pacific/, translated from English by D. Canzler. Berlin. 1800. page 396; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 273; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 185.

/82 cont./

846 festivities. It is simply customary for relatives (especially those
574 of the mother) and neighbors to come, in order to see the newborn child
846 and to bring gifts, such as tapa, (small) mats, a basket of yams, a
574
431 chicken, or European articles such as baby powder, for example. They
are offered food that has been prepared in advance, and soon (after
(602) one or two hours) the visitors return home. It is only after the birth
of the first child in the family that the father with his kinsmen prepares a very large earth oven for the kinfolk of his wife, they form a kava circle and the two family groups exchange gifts of mats and tapa. Some families also repeat this celebration after subsequent births.

853 The Tongan mother begins feeding her baby by chewing a piece of coconut meat that has been heated in the fire, then wrapping this in a piece of raw tapa (feta'aki) and putting this in the child's mouth to suck. After two days the baby is given the mother's breast (huhu). In two or three months the supplementary diet is begun. The mother skins bananas (of the siaine species) that have been roasted in the fire, chews the bananas and gives them to the child which is also fed yams (for example, 'ufi-lei) baked in the earth oven and chewed (or crushed), bread fruit, sweet potatoes and /83/ coconut milk. (236)

236. The juice squeezed out of coconut meat.

853
177 However, this typical, ancient Tongan baby diet is today, in many cases, replaced by European food. Instead of the chewed coconut meat in raw tapa, the child is given warm sugar-water and in place of the aforementioned supplementary diet the baby is often given soaked pieces of bread and zwieback that have been chewed or crushed with a fork (spoon). Occasionally, a bottle with cow's milk is given instead of the breast. (237)

237. On Lifuka, for example, a woman raised the eight children of her adopted daughter

/88 cont./

764 to the gathering, thanks them for coming and suggest that they now go
765 to the house of the deceased. There they drink kava (women and girls
574 may also take part in this gathering) and wait for the contents of
[276] the large earth oven being prepared by the family of the deceased.
[562] These contents (for example, a pig, yams, kape, taro, manioc, etc.)
are divided up in baskets (of plaited palm leaves), one of which each
guest receives. In a town like Fungamisi/Vava'u, the earth oven is
sometimes already replaced by several hundred loaves of white bread
which are bought in a bakery. A very well-to-do Tongan may entertain
the mourners for ten days with food and lodging. But usually, after
the baskets have been distributed and the last kava has been drunk,
the guests return home, possibly after the "eldest" has thanked
them again for their sympathy.

765 Only close relatives (on both sides) usually remain for ten
[602] days in the house of the deceased, (256)

256. Some of them sleep in the houses of neighbors; special huts for the mourners are no longer built.

765 whose family look after them. There is a complete noise ban in the
784 village (for example, no one may beat tapa, call loudly, sing [except
in church] and dance) for a few days, and /89/ work (especially
cooperative work) is at a temporary standstill. According to the old
765 custom, the noise ban for commoners probably lasted ten days and for
784
178 chiefs correspondingly longer, depending on their rank. Nowadays,
[565] however, among commoners, the taboo is usually officially lifted for
relatives after three days (or even on the evening of the day of
burial), following a meal with singing and dancing, and, for example,
in the rapidly growing village of Pangai (on Lifuka), a traffic and
government center of the Ha'apai group, such a taboo is often observed
only in the vicinity of the house of the deceased. (257)

765 /89 cont./
784
178 257. Only the beating of tapa is generally not resumed for a few days or weeks.

[554) For a high-ranking deceased, however, a longer noise ban (of ten days or more) is still observed.

765 On the morning after the funeral the women (that is, the female
(531) relatives of the deceased and possibly neighbors) fetch basketsful
of sand from the beach and make a grave mound which they soon decorate
with black pebbles (if available), small red and white coral stones and
ki-kie lou fau (and sisi kakala) (see above). On this day, people also
765 frequently observe the old "pongi-pongi" which formerly went on for ten
574 days: (258)
276

258. According to statements of aged Tongan.

notables (chiefs, matapule) of the village and other people come, kava is drunk in ceremonial order, and the relatives of the deceased distribute the contents of an earth oven which they have prepared.

765 After the funeral, the wife of the deceased, her daughters and
sons (also accompanied by a few relatives) go every day to the grave
to weed and keep the mound in order. Often a few villagers will gather
for several days with the relatives for a kava circle, and the close
relatives of the deceased continue wearing, every day (sometimes also
at night) for some three months (or a year), the torn mat (tauanga'a,
liongi, motumotu) which they put on for the burial ceremonies,
(fastened with bast or a European cord), as a visible sign of mourning.
[177) The European custom of a black arm band has found limited acceptance.

After a few years the majority of the people scarcely pay any attention to the graves; this attitude is reminiscent of that of commoners in times past. (259)

259. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 201.

[178) This burial procedure is usually the rule. However, there are
[565] certain deviations, since it is left to the relatives, at any rate
[574)
[784)

/89 cont./

765 565 574 784 among commoners, whether or not they will link the festival with the burial of their dead (they may not, for example, because of poverty or because the one who was buried was not a close relative). Thus it may happen that the eldest of the family, after /90/ the pit has been covered over, will briefly announce that there will be no kava-drinking or earth-oven meal and no noise or work taboo. (260)

(114) 260. On January 5, 1952, on Nomuka, the author experienced the burial of a woman who had been isolated because of a serious case of tuberculosis and who subsequently died; in accordance with the wish of her relatives, no festivity and no work stoppage were observed. Again, after the death of an old man on February 2, 1952, on the same island, the work- and noise- taboo were dispensed with.

It is possible that here we find indications of a beginning decline in ancient customs.

764 765 177 178 Thus, in the sphere of death and burial we must also recognize that the Tongan have by no means been immune to European influences, some of which they adopted and combined with their old traditions, so that here we experience a fusion of ancient Tongan with European /tradition/, which, as a cultural function, entirely satisfies the needs of the community in the crisis of death, and in which everything is felt to be natural, not foreign, especially since the present older generation was born into the change, which had in essence already taken place. (565) Here too, as in the case of the wedding, (261)

261. Compare pp. 116-119.

the liberation of commoners contributed to the preservation and vitalization of ancient tradition by making more elaborate use, as far as possible, of mats and tapa, and by decorating the graves, often like those of chiefs. (262)

262. For example, black pebbles were formerly

/96 cont./
476 takes her place (as the family decides).

476 It is difficult to say whether these kautaha are ancient
178 Tongan institutions. Since government officials usually recommend that
the women, for example, make a certain number of mats within a given
time, and the festive exhibitions of the kautaha have a certain official
character through the presence of the "town officer" /cited in English/,
the pastor and the kautaha president (all judges of the exhibited
pieces), and since the election of the president strikes one as very
European in character, we must assume that this form of the kautaha
originated in the more recent period. On the other hand, it seems
[285] improbably that formerly the very sociable Tongan women made the large
[287] mats and tapa lengths by themselves in their family circle. Surely
there were similar work teams in ancient Tonga, which in more recent
times then took on the character of the present-day kautaha.

476 The festivals of the women's kautaha on an island like Nomuka
527 have an important place among the few festivities that are observed
574 in the present village community. It is a festive show of accomplishment which may proceed as follows:

The day before the festival a long roofing (of sticks and coconut palm fronds) is erected for the participants on a place in the
village. On the morning of the festival several earth-ovens are
prepared by the husbands of the various members, with the help of
the women and their relatives. The festival (often called a "show"
[533] /cited in English/) starts around noon. If there is a brass band in
the village it strikes up /97/ and the invited guests of both sexes
(that is to say, a large part of the village population) take their
[431] seats in no particular order. The tapa pieces that have been brought
along as gifts for the hosts are, for the time being, used as seat
pads and are later (before the banquet) gathered up by the hosts. The
show begins. The women of the kautaha (older as well as younger ones)

/97 cont./

476 each one brings a long length of tapa and two mats which they spread
527 out before the guests and the judges (for example, the district officer
574 /cited in English/, a few pastors and the presidents of the village
[533) *kautaha*). The brass band plays an accompaniment to this, a group
of young Tongans join in with a song and occasionally a woman will beat
[535) a large bass drum. The women of the *kautaha*, young as well as old,
are quite boisterous; when they bring out the individual pieces they
often dance, sway their hips in time to the music, stride and dance
over the outspread splendors, amidst the applause and laughter of the
spectators. The judges seriously scrutinize and consider. The show
lasts about two hours. Then the drum is beaten, the school bell is
rung, the band plays and the coconut-leaf tables (*pola kai*), (271)
laden with food, are brought and arranged in long rows between the
guests. Whole roast pigs, baked fish, large crabs, corned beef,
[262) /cited in English/ chickens, new yams, bread fruit and bananas from
[177) the earth-oven lie piles up on the tables, crowned with earthenware
[272) plates of "English pudding" /cited in English/ (resembling gingerbread
with a red floury sauce), small cakes and rich cream tortes, in addition
to glass jugs with red and yellow, very sweet lemonade. A prayer is
said, and people begin to eat. During this meal some ten speeches are
made. The district officer or town officer thanks the women for
always following the orders of their president and for preparing the
entire festival so nicely. Other speakers thank the president of this
kautaha and also the women. The president gives out prizes (often in
the form of money) for the best pieces; a *matapule* also delivers a long
speech about freedom in Tonga and obedience to the chiefs. A prayer
ends the feast and people return home while the band still plays and
the hosts fill baskets with leftover food to send to the houses of the

271. Or corrugated metal tables covered with banana leaves.

/97 cont./

476 guests. Everybody is satisfied except one woman of the kautaha who
527 did not fulfill her "quota" (a length of tapa and two mats); she
574 spent some time on a visit to another island, and is very sad because
[554] of the bad impression she made on the audience.

476 Like the kautaha itself, the festival seems to be a recent
527 institution in which all kinds of old and new customs and traditions
574 mingle. Such festivals probably serve to stimulate achievement and
178 provide public control over work. Among the members of the kautaha,
182 they fulfill the need for recognition within the social group and at
621 the same time give large circles of the village community the much
[626] desired opportunity for a happy social life. However, the entire village community is not included in such a festival. The kautaha
[203] invites relatives and friends, members of other kautaha and, above all, the influential men of the village (often with written invitations), so that the festival group includes approximately one-third or /98/ one-quarter of all adults of a particular settlement. Those who are not invited feel that it is a matter of courtesy not to attend the festival.

527 Other festivities (272)

574 272. Aside from the various "picnics"
794 /cited in English/ on the beach
or in the bush, organized by young
men and girls.

in the villages are nowadays usually connected with the church. Thus, every Sunday, members of the three Wesleyan churches of Tonga take turns giving a feast (faka-afe), usually mornings and afternoons following the church services, to which the preachers, the eldest kinsman of the host, and friends are invited. After a kava circle a
[262] meal is served (for example, the contents of an earth-oven: a pig,
[272] yams, sweet potatoes, a large salt-water fish, canned meat and manioc pudding; or white bread with marmelade, cocoa and condensed milk),

527 /98 cont./
574 794 which is often paid for in advance by collections taken in the congregation.
(262) gregation. After the meal the guests disperse. /The meaning of this
(272) feast is to thank God with food and drink for His blessings, through
(782) the preacher as His intercessor. Undoubtedly this type of festivity
(777) may be traced back to mission activity, but it is now organized by
the Tongan festival. This is shown even more clearly in the large
574 faka-afe on the last day of the year. If, for example, eight preachers
793 of the congregation are to speak on the evening of December 31st, a
794 special banquet is given for each of them on this day. The pastor, the
eight lay preachers and their invited guests-- altogether 20 or more
individuals--go from one banquet to another, soon amply fed and without
appetite, but always intent on eating more and leaving a little
room for the next meal (out of courtesy to the host). In serious and
(537) carefully worded speeches they give thanks to God for having taken care
of the community throughout the year which is coming to an end, and for
always having given it sufficient food; nor do they forget, in these
speeches, to thank their respective hosts at great length.

527 The Christian festivals of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost have
777 not acquired deeper significance within the village community, To be
sure, preparations for Christmas, for example, are considerable: weeks
before, people busily make copra, stock quantities of European food
for selling (bagsful of sugar and flour, six-pound cans of corned beef,
etc.), and dress material, and they sew new gala attire. However, the
holidays then pass without special events; only a few young men get
(621) drunk and beat each other up. Many Tongans even continue working on
holidays, and the only function that unites the community (besides
(533) /99/ church attendance) is the performance in many villages of the
(431) large Wesleyan church choir which, during Holy Night, moves from
house to house, like English carol singers, singing British Christmas
carols /cited in English/ and other Tongan-English songs and, in

527 /99 cont./

177 (621) return, collects presents. Brass bands or groups of guitar players
(533) go about in the same way.

(431) It is not only on these festivals that the Christian religion
794 has taken on a certain importance in the community life of the village.
177 It is specifically through the integration of large sections of the
182 population in the many services of the various churches that it exerts
a certain influence on group formation in all settlements. Moreover,
(533) the bringing together of numerous adults of both sexes in the choirs
(each with some 50-150 voices strong) of the individual Wesleyan
churches has become important in the community life of many villages,
for the numerous evening rehearsals are a very welcome change in the
everyday life of the vocally gifted and song-loving Tongan men and
women.

527 Whereas the festivals mentioned (kautaha-show, faka-afe), the
574 church services and the choirs each unite only a certain part of the
182 village population (through membership or by special invitation), the
(621) old Tongan custom of the sociable kava circle has remained an
institution of community life that is accessible to every adult male
Tongan.

276 In ancient Tonga more kava was probably drunk than on the other islands of the South Seas. (273)

273. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 224; Johann Reinhold Forster's Bemerkungen... /Comments/ p. 416.

(797) Although the missionaries did not by any means encourage the natives
(178) in this custom, (274)

(113) 274. See J.E. Erskine, Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific... /cited in English/ London 1853. p. 149.

it determines social life at least as much today as in the past and
(171) perhaps even more. In Tonga far more kava is drunk than in Samoa

/100 cont./

276 is filled, which the recipient must now empty in one draught. The work can be carried out by the girl alone. However, one or two young men may assist her in pounding the kava root and adding the water.

276 This procedure resembles the one customary in ancient Tonga. In
178 those days, however, the kava roots were chewed; (275)

797 275. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 189/190.

177 the missionaries influenced the natives to perform this work with stone
412 slabs and stone pestles (from the volcanic islands of the Archipelago). (276)

276. See H.N. Moseley, Notes by a naturalist... /cited in English/ p. 287.

276 The old water vessels (hollow coconuts, calabashes, wooden bowls) were
177 also replaced by European buckets. It is interesting that the Tongans
415 never drink kava out of a European cup (even though porcelain cups or tin mugs are found in every house), but only out of coconut cups (277)

(178) 277. The banana-leaf cups observed by Mariner (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 197) are no longer made, probably because it is too inconvenient to bring the banana leaves from distant plantations to the village.

which, with the wooden bowl, the mat and the bast bundle form a natural unit. The bucket which is a somewhat jarring note does not bother anyone, even though the natives have a certain feeling for bad taste (for example, a Tongan would never wear a ta'o-vala with trousers). (278)

278. See page 69-71.

276 The kava group (that is, the men gathered together to drink and
574 socialize) (279)

(562) 279. Women do not as a rule drink kava; they often sit in another part of the house and listen to the conversation of the men.

/100 cont./

276 is arranged in such a way that a circle is formed within the hut, of
574 which the girl with the kava bowl is a part. Opposite her, on side
276 of the circle, sits, as a rule, the most important of the assembled
554 personalities. Even though, as in the majority of such gatherings
574 among commoners, the whole takes place without any particular formality,
the natives do observe this seating order. On either side of the
[565] honored person, even at simple kava circles, the matapule (280)

280. The matapule were originally the personal attendants, helpers and advisors of the chiefs.

sometimes sit, one of whom orders and supervises the preparation in its individual stages and then directs the serving, at which first the /101/ other matapule, then another person present and, as a third, the honorary individual (281)

281. See also J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 410.

receives the filled cup (one of several cups filled in rotation). The
formality in preparation and serving increases with the rank of the
persons present. Thus there are many kava gatherings in which the kava
[565] is prepared and served without any ceremony, and others (in circles
[576] of chiefs) in which the matapule directing the distribution and
serving is led out and replaced by another if, when serving, he makes
a mistake in the ranking order of kava drinkers. The highest and
[643] most complicated development is the kava circle of the Tu'i Kanokupolu,
which even today is carried out with the greatest ceremony.

276 Even while the kava drink is being prepared (in an "unofficial"
574 gathering in the village), further participants may have arrived, lured by the steady pounding of the stones, and as long as the gathering lasts more men may show up and enlarge the circle. As a rule, every new arrival will bring along a few pieces of kava root and throw them in the center of the room (or in front of the matapule who are directing the preparation). The men gathered together

/101 cont./ The men gathered together
276 (usually between five and fifteen) talk. The older ones speak about
574 their plantations and their remarkable harvests or setbacks, or about
521 fishing and the various methods employed. They will also discuss in
detail the special events on the island and in the Archipelago, and
from minor and harmless occurrences the most exciting stories may
develop. The younger ones take part in these conversations, or they
will chat with the girl preparing the kava. (282)

282. She does not drink the kava and may not leave her seat throughout the entire session; once she goes out, another girl must continue in her stead.

[533] Sometimes the younger ones may sing, and then the quiet, even conversa-
276 tion of the older ones will cease. While new kava drink is prepared and
574 served again and again, the group stays together, from early evening,
for example, until far into the night, sometimes even until daybreak.
In this case, the old custom is sometimes observed that the men, on
[431] the next day, will prepare a large earth-oven (possibly with a pit)
as "compensation" for their wives, and the wives will give them gifts
of tapa and mats.

There are no special houses for kava circles within the village.
Every house of a specific minimal size is suitable. In every
village there are several kava gatherings in different houses every
(182) day (especially in the evening). In general, the men do not go
regularly to a specific kava circle; the houses as well as the members
(621) of the groups change, and this fulfills the essential function of
kava drinking, namely, to unite the male members of the village
community beyond all separation through family life and the religious
affiliation, in any combination and at any time.

276 Not only in these free social gatherings, but also on all
574 special occasions kava drinking is a necessary accompaniment. At
461 every type of community work in the village, for example if a few

/101 cont./

276 men /102/ mend their large fish net or if a group is carrying out a
574 building project, kava is served. Especially on the occasion of a
461 major undertaking, such as the building of a new house, there is
always a group of older Tongans present who do not join in but, united
in a kava circle, sanction the work through their presence in this
form. (283)

276 Naturally, there is also no Tongan festival possible without kava. It
527 585 belongs to a wedding as well as a funeral, and it is served at all
764 other festive occasions--generally before the meal.

Very probably the role of kava in the social life of the village,
276 compared with its significance in old times, has not diminished, but
178 actually increased. For this too an important reason may be the
greater freedom and independence today of the mass of the people, the
commoners. The old custom of kava drinking is so deeply rooted in
[177] Tongan life that neither European influences of the past nor those of
the present have been able to displace it or even diminish it.
[273] Alcohol, to be sure, is very difficult to obtain for the Tongans, (284)
[272] but even easily available beverages such as tea, coffee, cocoa and
lemonade have not in the least displaced kava. It, along with the
[415] typical wooden bowl and the coconut cups today form a seemingly indestructable cultural asset. The large ceremonial kava gatherings
276 574 of chiefs which Mariner reports (285)
565 178 have today been simplified--in accordance with the gradual decrease
of power of the nobles--though they have not disappeared.

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283. Also in construction work of a European nature (for example, building a cement tank for drinking water, making concrete blocks for a church building) this custom is observed.

284. Only with a permit from the police minister or by the dangerous way of the black market or non-licensed brewing.

285. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 184 ff.

/102 cont./

000 of power of the nobles--though they have not disappeared.

621 Seen as a whole, the old, strong feeling of solidarity in the
178 Tongan community has been preserved. Even today we see, especially
in the villages of the small islands, the old mutuality which is
neither communist nor is it made up of families isolated from each
(574) other. Every Tongan can still join any group in the village having a
(425) meal and can eat with them, and in most of the settlements every
(476) inhabitant may ask any other for objects or for personal help, and no
one will generally refuse to fulfill his wish. European influences
(177) (such as money, the idea of property, different denominations) have up
to now--except in special cases--not led to the individualization of
families, which to us in Europe is so much taken for granted.

/103/ b) Social Stratification

565 The principal social classes in ancient Tonga were: the chiefs ('eiki), their personal attendants, counselors and helpers (matapule) and the commoners (tu'a).

(241) The commoners, that is, the mass of the people, were in most
(427) cases farmers who cultivated the chief's lands which they lent out
to them. Every tu'a along with his family was completely dependent on
his chief. The 'eiki (whose title was hereditary) had absolute power,
often arbitrarily exercized over the life and property of the commoners. (286)

565 The matapule served the chiefs as a sort of minister. As a
554 rule, the title of the matapule was handed down in the same family;
a matapule served the chief with whose ancestor his own ancestor had
lived. The rank of the matapule depended specifically on that of his

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286. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. pp. 294/295; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/ p. 115; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 59/60; II. pp. 92, 300; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 110.

/104 cont./

178 565 receive special respect in public; these two groups are today the only big landowners in Tonga. (292)

> 292. Even a few matapule were at the time elevated to the ranks of nopele.

They are shown universal respect. (293)

> [576] 293. For example, they are still greeted on the street by some approaching commoners with a raised right hand; at the very least, the one approaching will remove his cigarette from his lips, and girls and women will lower their umbrellas carried as a protection against the sun. These types of greeting were introduced in the second half of the last century in place of the earlier /custom of/ crouching beside the path when a noble passed by.

The nopele today either work on their plantations themselves or they lead the old life of chiefs and spend their days in conversation and kava drinking.

565 554 178 Among the rest of the chiefs only those are particularly respected by the public who, for reasons of state, have obtained an office (for example, "town officer," "district officer" /cited in English/). The nopele and the landless chiefs /105/ are today witnessing the emancipated young commoners eagerly attending schools. Knowledge and ability are threatening to endanger the privilege of birth. Besides, some commoners, as a result of today's high copra prices, are becoming wealthy through their coconut plantations and their business skill, and are acquiring a greater economic potential than many chiefs. With a principle of "equal rights for all" many a chief sees himself pushed to the periphery of practical life in the more hectic "modern" system.

565 554 178 276 574 It is only on official occasions, especially in the kava gathering, that rank and title still enjoy their old prestige. In the apparently imperishable kava circle the chief occupies the place

/105 cont./

565 of honor. And the ceremony of kava-serving still singles him out as
554 the most important person in the circle, even when important officials
178 or men (from among commoners) who are influential as a result of their
276 personality or their wealth are among the present. The mere fact
574 that a man in the village has some chief's blood in his veins or that
he bears a title which was once granted him or his ancestors and
causes him to be regarded as matapule, (294) gives him priority in the kava circle over knowledge, ability and wealth.

294. On Nomuka, for example, in all kava circles of commoners (among whom there are a few officials and respected Tongans), the Tei is given the seat of honor without reservation. The old title of Tei was at one time created by the Tu'i Tonga, and its bearer had to take care of fishing for 'ava (fish) and transporting the ruler. The title continued to be renewed, so that today the Tei is commonly regarded as "fisherman to the Queen."

565 Though the respect of commoners for landless chiefs has been
576 considerably reduced in public, it has not entirely disappeared. For
554 almost every commoner, when he visits a chief, will don his ta'o-vala
178 (the mat as a sign of respect), and among the people no one generally
dares to wear the finest mats (for example, kie ta'o-vala) to which
formerly only chiefs were entitled, except for church-going or
weddings, even though the constitutions permit such attire. In
565 case of death, too, a longer noise- and work-taboo is usually observed
178 for chiefs than for commoners. The majority of the people still have
764 a silent respect respect for rank and title. (295)
784

(291)
(177)
295. Outwardly the difference between nobles and commoners has been completely effaced, for all classes today wear the same European clothing.

/140 cont./

283 and then the three-strand cord is plaited from these small bundles.
283 This method of preparation probably corresponds to the ancient Tongan
178 procedure except for two deviations: In the old days it was probably
generally customary to "bake" the coconut husks in an earth oven and
only then to place them in the sea; occasionally this complicated
method is still used today by leaving the husks (wrapped in koko
leaves) (373) for hours or days (up to one month) in the earth oven--soon grown cold--and thereafter keeping them in sea water for two or three weeks.
[171] Secondly, in former times, the natives probably wound the little fiber
bundles with a single fiber before plaiting them, as is occasionally
still done in Samoa; this procedure is slower, but guarantees
greater durability of the cord.--Making coconut cords is men's and
[462] women's work, but is done mostly by the men. Often, several men do
[574] the plaiting together, and they also like to do this work in the kava
[276] gatherings. However, the cords are much less often made than they
were even a few decades ago when one constantly saw men plaiting kafa
in the kava circles. In those days they apparently also liked to lay
in a supply, and the demand for better built houses of ancient Tongan
[461] style was probably greater. Today, three men plait up to 200 meters
of coconut-fiber cord in four hours (as a day's output). In this
way three people can, in three months, make the necessary amount of
kafa for a rather large house of ancient Tonga style, whereas they
finish this work for a small house in less than a month--if they
persist in plaiting their quota every day.

373. Bischofia javanica Bl.

342 A further concern of the Tongan who wants to build a house in
313 the old Tongan style is to procure the posts and beams. The Tonga
[824] Islands are poor in lumber, and if a person does not have a few koka
[439]

/140 cont./

342 313 trees (Bischofia javanica Bl.) or toa trees (Casuarina equisetifolia
[824] L.) at his disposal on his plantation (bushland)--as in old times--
[439] and does not wish to sacrifice valuable breadfruit trees to make posts,
then he must go to an uninhabited island where--again as in old ways--
he will look for suitable trees, or else he will buy imported Canadian
or New Zealand building timber which, moreover, is preferably used
342 instead of coconut palm trunks for the beams. To build a house in old
177 Tongan style, which is supposed to have board walls and be covered
439 with corrugated sheet metal, and especially to put up a European-style
construction, a person must, in good time, buy enough corrugated metal,
imported wood, nails and possibly cement in the commercial centers of
the Archipelago and transport them to his native island in the small
cutters.

342 /141/ Since a man must generally supply food for the specialist
264 (in case such a one is building the house) and all his helpers (other-
574 wise the orderly course of the work might easily be endangered as a
result of growing apathy), he must, in due time, raise quantities of
food plants and, in addition, depending on the size of the understaking,
fatten a number of pigs. If a man does not wish--or is not able--to
offer hospitality in this ancient Tongan style, he must have in read-
iness sacksful of flour and sugar, large cans of corned beef, tea and,
if possible, loaves of bread, in order to provide meals.

342 After all preparations have progressed to the point where they
331 can guarantee a steady flow of work, the day is set for the building
to begin. The work force assembles on the day announced; the work
begins.

The following account of the building of a house in November/
[177] December 1951 on Nomuka may show the juxtaposition (or fusion) of old
[178] and new:

531 /147 cont./

285 387. Except for the small coconut-leaf baskets generally used but once.

and ornamented with the natural-colored brown and traditionally
black-dyed (388)

[386] 388. By burying in mud for two or three days and boiling with manaui leaves.

pandanus-leaf strips; (389)

389. For their construction see p. 313 ff.

some plaited bags are also decorated with pandanus-leaf strips dyed
285 with bright-colored European dyes. Undoubtedly the baskets now being
178 plaited in Tonga are an ancient cultural heritage. (390)

390. In principle they resemble, for example, the ancient Tongan basket No. Oz. 121 in the Ethnological Institute, Gottingen.

However, they are probably more crudely worked than in the past.--
415 The essential containers for storing clothing and smaller things used
in the household, the tools, etc., are today simply old corned-beef
cases, specially made wooden boxes and metal-trimmed chests. In
[177] addition, a few households have European cardboard suitcases in more or
less good condition. Closets are scarcely to be seen in Tongan houses,
353 except for small food cupboards (with screening) for storing dishes
and smaller supplies, with which over half of all households are provided.
352 Wooden shelves today likewise serve to accomodate various little
177 things, as do tables. The latter have been introduced in many houses,
though they have lost their European function, since they are used mostly
as places to put lamps, bottles, mirrors etc. Very few households have
European /straight/ chairs, benches, club chairs etc., and even in the
houses that have tables and chairs, people generally sit on the floor
beside them and also take their meals there--as in old times. However,
[556] the owner is very proud of such European furniture; for him it is the
[574] symbol of respected Europeanism and at the same time proof of his

/147 cont./
352
177 personal wealth, and it often gives him the comforting assurance that
[556] he will always be able to receive a white guest properly.
[574] Among the rest of the household effects, the wooden, multi-
415 footed kava bowl along with the coconut mugs have a prominent place
178 in most houses, as in the old days (391)

391. On the custom of the kava drink see pp. 143-149.

422 Almost every household also owns a roll of tapa from which pieces are
412 cut off as needed. For sweeping, the natives still use a broom (tau
824 fale) made of the ribs of pinnate coconut leaves, coconut-fiber cord
and a stick of hibiscus wood. The old Tongan lamps, /148/ in which
354 coconut oil was burned, like the more frequently used torches, have,
178 however, long since disappeared. In every house one sees European
177 kerosene lamps, and the modern benzol pressure lamps are also rather
widely used. In the villages, matches have altogether replaced the
372 old method of rubbing fire; it is only on the plantations that fire is
177 often produced in the old way, (392)
178

392. On the long side of a trunk of Hibiscus tiliaceus (tolonga) approximately 80 - 100 centimeters long, which has been flattened with a knife, a pointed rod (kaunatu) of the same wood is rubbed back and forth with both hands, under steady pressure and with mounting speed so that the sawdust that gathers at the bottom of the trough gradually grows hotter and finally starts to smolder; tinder (for example, a dry coconut husk) can thus be ignited. The process usually takes 20 - 25 seconds; 15 seconds were said to be "record time."

415 with which very many Tonga are still familiar. No Tongan uses
177 bottle gourds any more for storing liquids. Glass bottles of various
178 shapes and colors are taken for granted in all Tongan dwellings.
000 Almost all Tongan households also have smaller or larger mirrors, and

/169 cont./

231 According to these figures, pigs and chickens, the domestic
184 animals of ancient Tonga, occur most frequently in 'Uiha and Fungamisi.
The difference with respect to the rest of the domestic animals is
more striking in 'Uiha than in Fungamisi. In the latter village, its
231 184 nearness to the seaport of Neiafu is a factor; the natives probably
432 feel it is more profitable to use their coconuts for copra production
(245) (the copra receiving station of the government is not far from the
village) than to breed pigs more extensively, especially since the
latter can be replaced by corned beef and salted meat which is easily
obtainable in Neiafu. The cattle raised in Fungamisi can be profitably
sold to merchants in Neiafu.

231 In general, there is no intensive animal husbandry in Tonga, such
as the European is accustomed to. Stalls and fenced-in areas are
(272) (262) practically unknown. /170/ Milk, eggs and manure are not used. The
(237) following survey may give an idea of animal husbandry in Tonga:

Pig:

231 This domestic animal of ancient Tonga no longer exists in its
136 original form. Sailors, missionaries, other whites living in Tonga,
as well as members of the Tongan government have, in the course of
time, brought a number of pigs of various strains to Tonga. This
seems to have improved the old Tongan breed of pig which was
probably smaller. A clear racial identification is no longer
possible because of the various crossbreeds.

231 Pork is by no means a daily food; the natives usually slaughter
262 the animals only for festivals and other special occasions (for
● 574 example, a visit of a member of the royal family), just as was
customary among commoners in the past. (450)

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(113) 450. See W. Waldegrave, Extracts from a private journal.../cited in English/ p. 187.

/170 cont./

262 Most chiefs probably eat less pork than they did in former times. (451)

451. Ibid., p. 187.

231 Since Christianization and democratization of the Archipelago has
177 very much reduced the number of large festivals at which huge
262 quantities of pork were consumed. (452)
574

452. See Th. West, Ten years.../cited in English/ p. 123.

it may be taken for granted that pig breeding as a whole is considerably less than it was in ancient Tonga.

231 The pigs usually run about freely in the villages; one very seldom sees them on a property in an enclosure of coconut palm palisades. They sleep under houses that are elevated or they burrow a pit for this purpose on the property of their owner. In the larger [656] towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu and Pangai keeping pigs in the settlements is forbidden by the government. There, only a few natives have pigs which they keep in special enclosures on the plantations or shut them 231 up in large hollow trees. Some years ago, keeping pigs in the 656 villages was forbidden (for hygienic reasons). The natives, however, clung so tenaciously to their old system that this regulation endangered pig breeding as a whole, hence it had to be relaxed.

231 The natives feed their pigs the cut-up meat of ripe coconuts, cooked or raw manioc roots, sweet potato leaves and food leftovers; piglets are given chiefly mashed meat of green coconuts. The pigs whose owners keep them on short rations often break into the plantations and there appease their hunger. To judge from old sources, people in former times kept better order in this respect. (Now and then in bush land there are pigs that have become wild.) Their drinking water the animals usually find for themselves (marshy pools, puddles).
[232] Since old times the natives have known how to castrate boars (453)

/189 cont./

262 This list shows that 228 out of 353 'Uiha meals consisted
184 exclusively of products that were available even in ancient Tonga,
while 69 of the 173 Fungamisi meals were prepared on a purely "ancient
Tongan basis." The influence of the seaport of Neiafu on the village
of Fungamisi is recognizable; the example of the European and half-
caste households there, as well as abundant supplies in the shops of
that town clearly influence the standard of living of the neighboring
262 settlement. The proportion of salted meat, corned beef, white bread,
184 butter, tea, etc., is noticeable. The "European ingredients" (483)

177 483. "European ingredients" include all foods that
[244] were not available in ancient Tonga, but reached
[432] the Archipelago only as a result of European
influences and are procured today by planting
(for example, manioc, see pp. 231-232, 240-241) or by
purchase from shopkeepers (for example, corned
beef, roast beef, salted meat, sugar, flour,
white bread, zwieback, tea, cocoa, coffee).

of 'Uiha and Fungamisi meals are usually no more than "supplementary."
/190/ Manioc, however, appears as a basic food, and in Fungamisi
there are a few families who have already gone over to regular bread
262 meals. The very large proportion of breadfruit is due to the fact
[221] that the months of April/May are the main harvest time for it.

262 Basically, the meals for Sundays, holidays and feasts are the
264 same as everyday meals; they differ only in quantity and in richer
ingredients (and sometimes more complicated preparation). As examples
[527] we list 12 Sunday meals in the village of 'Uiha (April 1952) and
[574] four gala meals (faka afe) (484)

484. See p. 142-143.

on Nomuka (December 1951):

/190 cont./

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264
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Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of	Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of	Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of
Breadfruit, b., fish	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Carica papaya corned beef	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Taro, st. Carica papaya salted meat
Breadfruit, b. pork	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. taro leaves fish corned beef	Breadfruit, st. Manioc, st.
Breadfruit, st. fish octopus	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish	Breadfruit, st. Manioc, st. fish
Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. sweet potato leaves corned beef fish	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish	Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., sweet potato leaves corned beef		

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252

Gala Meal(*faka afe*) (Nomuka) consisting of	Gala Meal(*faka afe*) (Nomuka) consisting of
Yams, st. *kape*, st. Bananas (*hopa*), st. Tonga pudding(*faikakai*) pork chicken fish	Yams, st. Sweet potatoes, st. *kape*, st. bananas (*siaine*) English pudding pork chicken duck
Yams, st. Sweet potatoes, st. Bananas (*hopa*), st. watermelon English pudding pork fish corned beef red lemonade	Fried cakes Zwieback with marmalade Cocoa made with water, added condensed milk and sugar red lemonade

[272]

/196 cont./ **Kava (510)**

276 510. See p. 144 ff.

574 is drunk--as always--chiefly at social gatherings, on ceremonial
occasions and before gala meals.

264 Most Tongans eat only two meals a day, as in the past. In the
[178] morning (between nine and eleven o'clock) they eat a rather large
quantity of food, and in the afternoon (between 17 and 19 o'clock)
they have a meal almost as large, at which they use any leftovers from
the morning meal; the portions consumed by adults seem astonishingly
large to Europeans. On Sundays they usually have an earth-oven meal
after the second morning service, around 10 or 11 o'clock, /197/ the
leftovers from which they often eat in the afternoon as their second
meal. In the larger towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu and Pangai, however,
[177] many families have gone over to the European example of having three
(184) meals a day (between 8 - 9, 12 - 13, and 18 - 19 o'clock), the first
of which is often a breakfast of white bread. Thus, out of 92 households investigated in the remote village of 'Uiha, 89 have two meals a
day and only three have three meals, whereas in Pungamisi, the "suburb"
of Neiafu, out of 37 households checked, 22 have two meals and 15 have
three meals a day. The great distance of plantations from the
[252] villages is, in some instances, the reason why the natives also have
"bush meals" (511)

511. Food roasted in embers or stewed in the earth-oven.

at irregular hours if they feel the need for them during their plantation work.

264 Though spoons, forks, and knives are nowadays present in most
412 households, the Tongans as a rule still eat with their fingers, as in
[516] pre-European times. They sit cross-legged in front of the meals they
have been served, tear off, press, or cut off (512)

512. With a machete or table knife instead of

/197 cont./

264
412 the bamboo knife customary in former times.
pieces of tuber, fish or meat and put them in their mouths; in the
case of tubers, some also knead individual bites into balls. By far
264 the majority of natives today use European pottery and tin plates
415 instead of the banana and breadfruit leaves used as plates in ancient
177 Tonga. It is only for gala meals that food is still generally served
on banana leaves which are placed on plaited coconut-palm leaves or
even on pieces of corrugated sheet metal. While kava is drunk only
415 out of coconut mugs, cups and ordinary mugs are today present in all
276 households for the rest of the beverages; the ancient Tonga banana-
178 leaf mugs (513)

513. See W. Ellis, *An authentic narrative*...I. p. 96/97; J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. p. 197.

264 have long since fallen into oblivion. Meals are eaten in the cook hut,
178 in the open, on the verandas of European houses and sometimes
(especially gala meals) in living rooms; eating inside the dwelling
means a break with ancient custom, but it has by no means become a
general habit.

264 Women were never excluded from common meals in Tonga. (514)
562

514. Even Cook was struck by this (J. Cook, *Beschreibung*...*loc. cit.* VI. p. 289.

264 The once strictly observed social stratification among the people,
565 however, made a sharp distinction, especially at meals, between
members of the individual classes or the holders of various titles.
(515)

515. See also J. Cook, ibid.

[178] Though the differences /198/ are today less glaring in public, one
will scarcely see a person of higher rank dining with one of lower
rank.

264
574 The numerous ancient Tongan festivals belong to the past as a
178
261

/198 cont./

264 574 178 261 result of the Christianization and democratization of the Archipelago, and with them have disappeared the large gala meals which, in old times, could cause the danger of food shortage and hardship. (516)

516. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 214/215.

262 177 178 Seen as a whole, strong European influences are to be noted in the food sector, (517)

517. European foods even play a special role in festive customs.

which have led to a coexistence and merging of old and new and also to a loss of old traditions. Yet the main foundation of the ancient Tongan system of nutrition has been preserved: Though some imported foods have gained great importance, they have not become the chief foods, but are merely additions to the ancient Tongan fare. The traditional basic foods have not been replaced. Rather, the Tongans are largely meeting their own food needs through cultivation (especially of old indigenous plants), fishing (mostly with traditional methods) and domestic animal raising (with predominantly ancient Tongan domestic animals), and if today the islands should fall back into isolation, the entire population could go on living without particular readjustment and without hardship, solely from the products of their own land. (518)

[146] 518. Tongan everyday food is astonishingly poor in proteins and vitamins, according to European ideas. Yet the natives have been nourishing themselves in this way for many centuries, and are on the whole tall, well built and mostly plump figures.

Luxuries

276 261 262 272 273 If, by the term "luxury," we mean everything that is eaten and drunk merely because it is pleasant, regardless of its nutritional value, we must mention under this heading for Tonga kava, tobacco,

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262 /198 cont./
272 chewing gum and candy, tea, coffee and cocoa, and finally alcoholic
273 beverages.

Of all these luxuries, kava alono belongs to ancient Tonga.
276 Since kava drinking for most Tongans is a purely social event, it was
574 already discussed in connection with the description of village life. (519)

519. See p. 144 ff.

[178] It merits repetition to say that today kava dominates all social life on the islands of the Archipelago at least as much as, if not more then in the past.

276 /199/ For more than a century the Tongans have been familiar with
[797] the use of tobacco, (520)

520. See Ch. Wilkes, Narrative.../cited in English/ III. p. 26.

and though the missionaries at first fought bitterly against this "vice,"

521. Ibid., p. 26/27; O. W. Brierly, Brief geographical sketch.../cited in English/ p. 117.

today by far the majority of adult natives of both sexes smoke. The
276 younger Tongan men and women and those of middle age smoke imported
177 English tobacco almost exclusively. They have become quite choosey
439 about its quality, since several different brands are imported. Using a two-ounce packet of tobacco, they generally roll 60 (thicker) or 90 (thinner) cigarettes (using cigarette papers that have likewise been imported). Girls and women are just as skilfull as the men in rolling the cigarettes freehand. Imported cigarettes, which are obtainable in sufficient quantities and are not much more expensive than the "prime cost" of the self-rolled ones, are seldom smoked.

276 Old people (men as well as women), however, still prefer the
887
178

/205 cont./

285

1. Floor Mats

takapau:

[352] In every dwelling built in ancient Tongan style, the floor (sand) is covered with these mats. They are approximately 1.50 x 0.50 meters in size.

[824] Women make the takapau from the young leaves of the coconut palm by tearing off on either side of the palm leaves part of the midrib with the pinnate leaflets hanging on it; then they interweave four of such "leaflet rows" into a mat (consisting of two joined halves).

The mats are dried in the sun and may be used for about four or five years.

2. Seat Mats

papa:

[574] These are rolled up and stored in the dwelling and on special occasions (for example, visitors) they are spread out on the takapau (in a European-type house on the wooden floor); however, even on ordinary days the natives often sit on them. They are about 2.60 x 0.75 meters in size. Seat mats for one person (papa nofo'anga tokotaha) are today used now and then for meetings (fono), choir practice and in some churches.

[824] The papa are made from the pandanus species, lou paongo. The natives cut its leaves, keep them in a shady spot until they are brown, then remove the thorny edges, cut the midrib, divide the leaves along these and roll the halved leaves into rather large bundles (up to about 100 halved leaves) which they store (hanging) in the house. Before plaiting they make them soft and pliable [412] by stroking them with a shell or, for example, with the bowl of a broken European tablespoon; with a shell splinter or a piece of tin

/215 cont./

285 off (all around) in one strip. After it has dried in the sun for
283 about two days /216/ the white bast (= on the inner side of the remaining
824 bark) is removed. This the women (girls) divide into narrow
strips and therewith knot the mana fau which is actually only a strand
of bast slung around the hips, from which the bast fibers, knotted to
it in close succession, hang down to below the knees.

kie-kie lou fau:

292 The kie-kie lou fau is worn especially by women and girls,
though sometimes also by men. They wear it instead of a ta'o-vala
(764) to church, when visiting chiefs, for festivals and other occasions,
(574) and for dances (laka-laka, ma'ulu'ulu, hula hula, tau'olunga, hula,
(535) ulu); they also decorate fresh graves with it.

285 This ornamental belt which originated only in recent times (end
292 of the last century?/ is made by women and girls, likewise out of
(462) hibiscus bast, and consists of a plaited belt cord on which are
(824) knotted long, narrow bast strips that hang down. It usually has
(283) special knotted ornaments in the hip section (for example, bast
(177) strips tied into rosettes), and parts of it, in contrast to mana fau,
(386) are always dyed with European dyes (particularly green, lavender, pink,
and blue).

kie-kie pueki:

292 This ornamental belt, which is also worn by women and girls
(438) (and occasionally by men) in place of the ta'o-vala, is a typical
product of the island of Niua Toputapu situated in the very northern
part of the Archipelago. It may be an ancient cultural heritage.

292 The natives there make the kie-kie pueki, like the mana fau, of
237 hibiscus bast (with long pendant bast strips); all around the hip
(283) section, however, they knot snail shells on a band about eight centi-
(285) meters wide. The snail shells, which are whitish-yellow in their
(177)
(386)

/226 cont./
512 stroll down to the beach to hunt for seafood, or they start preparing
a new supply of hair- and body-oil. An important task for them,
[264] however, is the preparation of the afternoon meal of which the entire
family partakes between 17 and 19 o'clock. Around this time the
[515] husband has returned from his plantation (often with fruit he picked)
and has washed himself thoroughly and put on clean clothes. The
children have spent the afternoon helping or playing and are now
mostly also washed, as is the wife. Around 19 o'clock, after the
meal, it has grown dark. Most families gather in their houses for
prayer. Thereafter, the children spend a little time at their
schoolwork and soon lie down to sleep while the husband and wife sit
by the light of kerosene lamps, chat and talk over the next day and
then go to rest around 21 - 22 o'clock. Many men and youths have
[574] /227/ meanwhile gathered in various houses of the village for their
kava circles (589)

589. See p. 144ff.

which seem to a large extent to satisfy all their social aspirations
and which last far into the night, sometimes even until dawn. In
[794] many villages natives of both sexes gather in the evenings to take
[533] part in the practice and rehearsals of the various church choirs.

Circumstances may vary this average daily routine. Thus, the
weather (for example, humidity or dryness) may be the occasion for
[796] various tasks (plantations) or may prevent them. Church services
also induce natives to get up earlier on some days of the week and to
start the day with church attendance, or to end, thus, the day's work
in the afternoon. Moreover, communal projects such as house-building
(not so much boat-building) and the making of tapa lengths and mats
in the kautaha houses (590)

[252] 590. On the days of such communal projects by

/228 cont./
512 527 (592)

[796) 592. Children also attend Sunday school.

[794) in which most of the natives (of both sexes and all ages) take part.
Chiefly in the morning (around eight o'clock) the men, with the help
[252) of their wives, prepare an earth-oven (593)
[264)

593. This work, of course, the men also performed
during the week if their wives have not
prepared food in a simple manner.

the contents of which, around ten or eleven o'clock, serve as the main
[264) Sunday dinner, the leftovers of which they like to eat in the afternoon
as a second meal. As for the rest of the day, they prefer to spend it
[574) sleeping and chatting and also paying visits; some Tongans read the
[212] bible for a long time (as they often do evenings during the rest of the
[571] week), and in every village men belonging to individual community groups
[264) gather for the gala meal of thanksgiving sponsored by the church (fakaafe).

512 The daily routine of the Tongans, like their division of labor,
essentially does not change throughout the seasons. Not only the
population in general, (594)

[463] 594. The daily schedule of Tongans who have special
[461) professions (for example, teachers, physicians,
clerks, government employees) is, of course,
determined by their work.

but also many nobles, in contrast to the past, spend their days in
this manner, provided they do not hold an office that carries with it
a special honor.

512 Thus the daily routine reflects the changes, the transformation of
177 Tongan culture: Included in the array of traditional tasks, duties
178 and leisure activities are new activities (595)

(527) 595. Copra-production; clothes washing; church
duties; attendance at church services, prayers,

/245 cont./

436 177 178 182 within the community. Yet up to the present time the old feeling of solidarity of the Tongans proved to be stronger, especially on the small islands where those who, for instance, give plantation products to their neighbors only for money are regarded as alien elements in the village community. In and around the chief towns, (432) (574) however, selling of food is already taken for granted, but at the same time community feeling has not been destroyed in these settlements; for example, every Tongan can enter here a house uninvited and take part in a meal.

Thus money has become an important economic factor in Tonga. The natives have become accustomed to it to a certain extent. In the harbor towns of the Archipelago, especially, money has brought about certain changes and has had, in part, a negative, though as yet a limited influence on the old community life. An average Tongan, however, does not have the attitude toward money characteristic of a European. The reasons for this lies not only in the more even-(181) tempered, casual manner of these natives and in the fact that thinking in terms of money and self-interest are contrary to the Tongan tradition, but especially in the fact that today, as in old times, they can still live without money. Although every Tongan man and woman, even on the smallest islands of the Archipelago, comes into contact with money, some of these natives do not have a penny, for they live chiefly on their land and can ask relatives or neighbors for whatever they need from the outside world.

/246/

4. THEIR RELIGION

771 177 797 As for the religion of the Tongans, the strongest European influences (missions) are to be noted, which have led to a fundamental change in this field.

772 The ancient Polynesian (and the ancient Tongan) conception of the

/256 cont./ The natives sang
533 chiefly to accompany dances (683)

534 683. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp.
461 329-337.

(at which rhythm-stampers, percussion sticks and slit-drums /?/ provided the rhythm) and also to encourage people at certain work (for (hiva), (685)

685. Ibid. p. 333; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/ I. p. 106.

by individuals or small groups (sometimes accompanied by a nose flute). (686)

686. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 334.

533 The beauty and the assets of the islands and the sea were the subject of such songs, but events of the past were also celebrated in song.

533 /257/ Today there are no longer any purely Tongan songs,
177 except for an old taua'alo melody. (687)

[461] 687. taua'alo are the typical ancient Tongan work songs, sung especially in paddling; perhaps the lomepeau song sometimes still sung to the laka-laka dance is also of Tongan origin.

One hears songs of European (English) origin or purely European (English) songs. Most of the secular songs today sung by individual natives or by small groups are written and composed by Tongans on
533 various English models. Most of these songs contain landscape descriptions, though many--in contrast to the past--are pure love songs. Other themes, as for example historical events, are rare. The natives
[574] sing at social gatherings, for example in the kava circles, (688)

[535] 688 See p. 147-149.

to accompany dances and sometimes also by themselves if they happen to feel like it.

[796] But most of all and most heartily the Tongans (689)

[194] 689. Their singing voices (especially those of

/259 cont./

533 [177] for large festivals in the villages, but mainly at Christmas time. On the more remote, small island of Nomuka there is even such a brass band whose six members, after diligent practice, have acquired a certain skill in performing on instruments which they bought from a Wesleyan brass band in Nuku'alofa, and some of which were 50 years old. 534 Moreover, /260/ in a few native huts of the main island there are pianos whose owners once acquired them by chance and can scarcely play, and a few Catholic churches and chapels have organs or harmoniums. (701)

[216] [207] 701. Portable gramophones and radios are rather scarce in the Archipelago.

[177] With respect to musical instruments of the Tongans there is thus extensive Europeanization to be noted.

538 554 Poets were once highly honored in Tonga. They were under the protection of the chiefs (702)

702. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/. p. 153. E.E.V. Collocott, "Tales and poems of Tonga," /cited in English/ B.P.B.M., Bulletin 46, 1928. p. 64.

who liked them because of the entertainment they provided; they also 538 [533] acted as chroniclers. Their poetry, (703)

703. See J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. p. 336.

which they prepared in solitude, they sang (it was also performed by singing groups) (704)

704. Ibid. p. 337.

or recited before an audience that was often quite critical.

[124] According to the statements of a few Tongan informants, the solo performance (recitation) seems to be given even today, though rarely. ● [574] If there is a large festival (*katoanga*) in which a member of the royal family, for instance, participates, a native will get up after a dance performance and recite a poem (about remarkable landscapes or

/260 cont./

538 famous places, or allegedly also about the beauty of girls). Likewise,
574 at an informal village kava circle it is said that sometimes a Tongan
[533] will recite an individual verses of his poem in between the group
538 singing of a few songs. On the basis of the sparse and fragmentary
178 historical sources on this subject it is difficult to say definitely
whether the solo performance occurred more often in ancient Tonga
than at present. It is quite possible that this art which once
flourished under the protection of the chiefs became more rare when
their power waned and the once grand "royal court" disappeared.

538 The art of poet-composers who taught their songs to singing
533 groups has, however, been preserved to a great extent. Commoners
[178] and nobles are today active in this field, both for the high nobility
[565] (for example, at festivals of the royal family) and especially for the
common people. As in the past, they create their poems and the
melodies for them in solitude and then rehearse the new song with a
group which is to sing it at a planned festivity. Or else they gather
[574] together only a few young men and sing and play the little composition
to them often enough so that they master it (705)

[177] 705. Today they also practice the new songs by writing the (European) note-numbers on a blackboard and part-singing them.

/261/ and then in turn make it known further by singing it at an evening kava circle. (706)

[535] 706. If they wish to learn a new dance they will create a text, set it to music and then practice the dance to it.

533 The change in comparison with the past consists in the fact that
177 today song composing has largely become popular and texts (as well as
melodies) show European influence. (707)

707. See p. 387-388.

535 Dances were very popular in ancient Tonga. They apparently

/261 cont./

535 in the royal family or some other extraordinary festival such as the
178 50th anniversary of the Treaty with England) the natives learn such
529 dances in the various villages, (714)

714. Older men and women are the dance teachers (punake).

and they often practice these for months until the individual movements of all participants are very precisely coordinated, as
535 in the past. Besides such dances intended for the most important
festivals, there are today two forms of a casual, improvised native dance, the tau'olunga and the hula. These, as well as the rest /262/ of the most well-known Tongan dances may be briefly described in the following list which will also give some idea of the changes that have taken place in comparison with the past.

tau'olunga:

is danced by Tongan men and women of all ages, even by children and very old people. The majority of natives master this simplest of Tongan dances.

Generally, two men and two women demonstrate it. They wear
[291] European clothing, but often only underwear and over it ornamental
[177] belts (for example, mana fau, kie-kie lou fau) (see pp. 321-324)
[292] and necklaces of plant material (kakala) (see pp. 82-84).
[301]

Especially at kava gatherings, at village festivals and at
[574] weddings, a few young men and girls dance the tau'olunga, the
various steps and movements of which are improvised. They accompany
[533] the dance with special songs (containing descriptions of landscapes,
various flowers, the fragrance of blossoms, the moon, the sun, love and so on) and also play guitar accompaniments while the audience mark time with hand-clapping. The tau'olunga is danced at any time of the day, but usually in the evening.

/262 cont./

535 This dance does not seem to be very old in Tonga, and was [177] probably borrowed from Samoa about a century ago.

hula:

is danced only by girls (women) about 12 to 30 years of age. The hula is quite popular; about half the young women can perform it.

Only one or two girls (women) at a time demonstrate this dance. [292] They usually put on the ornamental belt (for example, mana fau, [301] kie-kie lou fau) (see pp. 321-324) and necklaces of plant material [291] (kakala) (see pp. 82-84) and wear European underwear. On many occasions, [177] for example kava- picnic- birthday- and wedding-gatherings, the hula [574] may be danced. The dancers move (especially their hips and the upper [527] part of their bodies) to the singing of a chorus and the playing of several guitars. The hula may be danced at any time of day.

[177] The hula is a new dance taken over from Hawaii in the 30s of this century. There too it originated only in recent times.

laka-laka:

is danced by Tongan men and women about 16 to 60 years of age. The laka-laka is probably the most popular and most often performed of the large dances. Approximately half of all natives are proficient in it.

About 60 natives take part in a laka-laka; however, their number may reach 400. Both sexes are about equally represented, but equal numbers are not a prerequisite. Usually all male participants wear the same dance costume (for example, white shirt, black vala of European material, ta'o-vala [see pp. 69-71], kahoa and sisi kakala [see pp. 82-84]), just as all /263/ female participants are uniformily dressed (for example, dance shirt kofu lou fau and vala of tapa [ngatu 'uli] [see pp. 84-85 and 330-333]).

[554] The dancers usually stand in two rows (more, if many people

/267 cont./

535 177 to take over and imitate something new. (724)

724. For data about the dances and dance songs borrowed from Samoa at the beginning of the previous centruy see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 330-333.

535 765 177 The dances today are also free from any religious meaning; on the occasion of a death in the village the natives even refrain--in Christian fashion--from any activity of this kind for several days.

535 177 European dances such as the foxtrot, the march, the slow waltz, etc., are today also familiar to many Tongans.

(574) Younger Tongans of both sexes from the age of approximately 14 to 40 take part in these dances; on special occasions (for example, the visit of the High Commissioner in Nuku'alofa) older natives (for example [government] ministers) also dance at evening parties.

[527] [574] In general, such "European dances" (hulo hula) take place on Constitution Day, when foreign visitors are being welcomed, when there is a wedding or a birthday celebration, especially in the chief towns, but even in the more remote villages of the large and small islands.

European dress is worn (for example, the cloth vala) and people dance (mainly in houses with wooden or cement floors) in couples to the playing of guitars (or violins, banjos, mandolins, etc.).

These European dances are given only in the evening.

535 178 The most important result of the development, however, is the fact that today there is considerably less dancing than there was in ancient Tonga. The large native dances have to a great extent disappeared from public life. [574] While at the end of the 18th century the Tongans could at all times entertain with excellent dance performances European seafarers who visited them unexpectedly, they will now only occasionally and with difficulty rehearse a few dances for large special occasions. The reason for this decline is doubtless the

262
146 and are often excluded from the diet.[1] On the other hand, imported
262 foods are perceived as being prestigious items. Some imports have
146 limited nutritional value, although often below that of domestic
263 products, while others such as refined flour, cereal products and
sugar may cause or aggravate conditions of ill health, sugar being
263 an obvious offender. Hansell (1962, p. 288) listed increased sugar
164 consumption as being the principal cause of the rapid rise in the
incidence of dental caries in Tonga. Personal observations verified
this situation, with a marked predominance of cases noted in
Nuku'alofa.

125 During the data collection process, a 24-hour dietary recall
was conducted for each preschool subject, to determine any obvious
dietary variations between rural and urban children. In addition,
a frequency of consumption record was taken for the entire family,
listing the frequency during an average week with which selected
foodstuffs were consumed (i.e., fresh or canned meats and milk,
tubers, cereal products, soft drinks, alcoholic products and sugar).
In collecting this data care was taken to avoid the inclusion of
[527] weekend food consumption, especially that of Sunday. Because Sunday
[574] is a traditional day of feasting and heavy eating, a 24-hour dietary
recall of this day would give a skewed and unrealistic picture of
the preschooler's food consumption pattern.

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[1] The best example of this is the leaf of the taro plant. The leaf is used in the preparation of many dishes called "Lū" (i.e., lū pulu or beef, lū ika or fish) in which the meat is, in combination with coconut cream, etc., wrapped in taro leaves and cooked. However, the prepared dish is usually eaten without the leaf wrapping. In addition, raw vegetables, such as cabbage or greens, are not eaten.

anchor close to the edge of the reef in-shore of us. They were 501
crowded with natives busily engaged in unloading them, a number
of smaller canoes being employed in conveying their cargoes, 505
which consisted of bundles of matting, large baskets of yams and
other provisions, gear of various kinds, cooking utensils, &c., across
the shallow water on the reef to the landing-place at the beach.
Upon inquiring the cause of all this bustle from the natives along-
side the ship, they told us that these were the canoes of King 643
George, who had arrived from Haabai during the night; which 123
being confirmed by information obtained from the shore, the
Meander at eight o'clock fired a Royal salute, and soon after nine
Captain Keppel went on shore to pay a visit to his Majesty.

When we landed we heard that the King was engaged in 643
receiving his chiefs at a great kava party, but understanding that 644
our visit would not be considered an intrusion, we walked down 574
to the place of assembly, accompanied by one of the missionaries, 123
who obligingly offered to act as interpreter and to present us. [124]

The place of meeting was a kind of shed, having the ends and
back temporarily closed in with matting. Here we found the [344]
King seated cross-legged upon the ground, with five of his prin-
cipal chiefs on each hand, the rest of the chiefs sitting outside
the house and forming a great semicircle upon the lawn before it,
the bulk of the people being collected in a crowd beyond. All
round were great heaps of provisions—roasted pigs, yams, cooked
fish, and bundles of the kava root.*

The King is a fine man about forty-five years of age, upwards 643
of 6 feet in height, and powerfully made. His hair was cropped 142
quite close, and he had neither whiskers nor beard. Features well 302
formed, and forehead rather high than wide. His dress consisted
of a tappa petticoat, fastened round the waist and reaching down 643
to the feet. Above this he wore a large piece of fine matting, 292
folded many times, so as to make a great bundle round the body,
coming as high as the chest, the arms and shoulders being left
bare. He wore no ornament of any kind, and held in his hand 643
a green branch, which appeared to be merely for the purpose of [293]
keeping the flies off. The large mat is said to be a mark of [301]
distinction, and with the petticoat of tappa forms the court dress of [292]
Tonga, as no European clothing is allowed to be worn on these
occasions.

When we arrived at the house the business was about to com- 123
mence. We entered the apartment at the side, and took our 574
places upon mats behind the king, who did not appear to notice us
until the missionary had spoken to him, when he turned half round, 643

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* Kava is an infusion of the root of a species of pepper (Piper mythesticum), and upon every great occasion kava-drinking forms an important part of the ceremony. [276]

123 without rising, and shook hands—first with Captain Keppel, and
643 then with the rest of the party. He thanked Captain Keppel for
having brought him a letter from the governor of New Zealand,
574 but said that, having been engaged in receiving his chiefs that morning, he had not yet had time to read it, and then, having accepted an invitation to dine on board that day, he turned his face away, and, resuming his former abstracted look, did not speak again.

574 The ceremonies connected with the kava drinking were now
644 going on. Two chiefs, each carrying bundles of the root, came in
and laid them upon the mat before the king, where they left them
[276] and retired. The chief, sitting on the king's right hand, then ordered them to be counted, upon which two men came and sat down before them, with their faces towards the king. The ceremony then proceeded in the order which we were informed was usually observed on these occasions, as follows:—The chief demands how many bundles there are, and the men count them, calling out A-tá-ha! Ua! Túlu! one, two, three, and so on, touching each bundle as they do so, and counting them over in this way twice, the same form being observed although there might be only two or three bundles. Pigs, yams, and other provisions are also laid before the king and counted in the same manner, the pigs being carved in the royal presence, each being divided into eight parts, which are handed to the chiefs, who bring what they receive, and again lay it before the king, retiring until his spokesman
[237] recalls them, when they finally take it away. The pig's liver is laid upon leaves and presented to the king, who generally sends it to some one as a mark of his favour.

574 Besides the chief on his right, who directs the ceremonies
generally, the king was attended by his orator, a venerable looking
644 old chief, who sat two removed from him on his left, and who, after
537 the chiefs had all presented their offerings, made a speech of thanks
for the king in return. He spoke rapidly, but distinctly, pausing
[201] for a few seconds between each sentence. During his oration, the most perfect silence was observed, every one listening with an appearance of great respect and attention; the chiefs, when he had finished, calling out, Mālo-māléeah—very good, very sweet; the king, all the time, sitting quite silent, and without appearing to notice anything that was going on.

276 The kava root was now broken up into small portions with a
574 heavy pointed club, about five feet in length, made out of a whale's
644 jaw, the rind and points of the root being carefully removed, and
pieces of it handed round to the chiefs, who chewed it into a pulp,
[412] which they spat into a piece of plantain leaf, and went with it to a
[237] man sitting with a large wooden bowl before him, in the centre of
[415] the semicircle, facing the king. When a sufficient quantity had

been collected, the kava-mixer raised the bowl and inclined it 276
slightly over, so that the king might see it, and then replaced it on 574
the ground. Water was then brought to him in cocoa-nut shells 644
by the people behind, when, wiping his hands very carefully upon [415
some crushed bark, he proceeded to knead the kava paste, pressing
it against the bottom of the bowl with the palms of his hands, two men at the same time, one sitting on each side, pouring water into it until the whole became thoroughly mixed. He then wiped his hands again, and taking some white fibre, prepared from the inner rind of the Hibiscus bark, sprinkled a quantity of it lightly over the surface of the fluid, so as completely to cover it; and having arranged it with great care, and perfectly even, he tucked it carefully in round the sides of the bowl, so as to enclose and gather up within it all the more solid portions of the kava. At this stage of the proceedings, the interest in his movements seemed to increase, every one watching him with the greatest attention. Some of the oldest chiefs, who up to this time had sat like mummies, now showed symptoms of animation, and turned their heads towards the kava bowl. The expression of the kava-maker became more serious as he seemed to feel all the responsibility of his office, and proceeded with his work like a man conscious that the eyes of Tonga were upon him. Having tucked the bark in perfectly even all round, he grasped the whole mass firmly from below, and raised it slowly up out of the bowl. This was considered the most critical part of the whole proceeding; and his character as a kava-maker would have been lost for ever if he had allowed a drop of the precious liquor to fall outside the rim. The excitement became every moment more intense, and some hundred and fifty chiefs, the principal men of Tonga, watched in breathless silence the dripping mass which hung suspended over the bowl. The greater portion having drained out in this way, the kava-mixer, with a dexterous turn of the wrist, twisted it round, so as to bring it upon the fore part of the left arm, and then, leaning backwards, put forth all his strength to wring out the last drop. His chest heaved, the teeth were firmly set, the muscles of the arms started out and became hard and defined, the brows contracted and shaded the eyes, as he continued to lean back still more, every part of his powerful frame seeming to come into play, and quivering with the exertion; his skin shining with oil, giving to the figure the appearance of an antique bronze. A buzz of approval rose from the chiefs as he threw the bark away from him, and recovered himself with an appearance of great exhaustion.

The kava then underwent a second straining with fresh bark, but without the same attention to effect, when the man, pronouncing a kind of blessing by striking his hands together, stretched out his
arm over the bowl, and it was ready for serving out. The chiefs [415]

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

276 now rose, one at a time, and went to him with small cups of green
574 banana leaf, which he filled with a dipper made by rolling up some
644 bark lightly into a rounded point. When the cup was filled, the
{415] chief who received it turned round, and, advancing to the centre,
fronted the king, holding it with both hands about breast high. A
man stationed behind the kava-maker then called out "Kava-kuaheeka!"
The kava having been lifted up, the king's spokesman
proclaimed in the same tone to whom it should be given,
frequently using some sobriquet to point out the person intended
—as "atu ia kia Taaga!"—give it to the singer—give it to the
laugher—give it to the dancer, and so on, but all in the most
serious manner imaginable. It was then handed to the person
indicated, who drank it off and threw the cup away.

123 After the kava had been all served out, the chiefs that sat outside
644 the house rose and went off without any further ceremony—
[574] the people carrying away their portions of pork, yams, &c.; and
this being all that was to be seen then, we made our bow and
took our departure, leaving the king to discuss state matters with
his ministers, who remained sitting with him in the shed as we had
found them. We afterwards called upon the queen, but were
informed that she was rather unwell after her passage from
Haabai; the young prince, George Vuna, however, was sent out to
644 receive us. He was a fine intelligent little fellow, about eight
{302] years of age, with large expressive brown eyes, his head being
shaved quite smooth, excepting a lock over each temple. Four or
five boys of his own age, his attendants and companions, came out
123 with him. Having indulged their curiosity by allowing them to take
644 a good stare at us, one of the party presented the prince with a
waistcoat which reached half way down to his ankles; another
gave him a large silk handkerchief of a blue-and-white bird's-eye
pattern, which was tied round his neck in a sailor's knot. We
then left him, highly delighted with his new dress, his half-dozen
naked attendants shouting and dancing round him.

123 From the palace I went with some others to see if we could collect
644 any curiosities among the houses, and while we were squatted
down in one of them, bartering for some tappa, the great town-
505 drum began to beat, and immediately afterwards a native came
running in to tell us that the remainder of the royal fleet from
Vavau and Haabai were coming in, bringing the Tamahá, a person
of the highest rank in Tonga. This news quickly brought us
to our legs, and we hurried off with the rest.

644 The day was brilliantly fine, and natives from all quarters were
collecting upon the hill, watching the approach of the royal fleet
505 of large double canoes, as it came up before the fresh sea-breeze,
the canoes spreading all over the bay, some far off on the distant
horizon, others nearer, threading their way between the little

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

General Remarks.

Kava.—The use of the kava, from its intoxicating property 276
when taken in any quantity, is discountenanced by the missionaries,
but the custom seems to prevail nearly as much now as when
Cook visited the islands. It is the first thing prepared by a chief 276
when visited by his friends, and to neglect this would be considered 574
a want of courtesy amounting to insult, which would be highly
resented. At kava parties the ring is kept clear, no one who is 576
not employed in some duty connected with the ceremony being
allowed within it, and to walk across it would be considered as an
insult to the whole assembly. The kava is carried by inferior chiefs [554]
to those of higher rank, and the king would take it to the Tamahá [565]
or Tui Tonga Tagata. When they have drank the kava they throw
away the small cup in which it is served, and at neither of the 276
two great kava meetings we saw was the same cup used twice.
It is considered best when chewed by young women. In my strolls 249
round the island I saw several plantations of it; the young shoots 123
had just spread into leaf and were hoed, the ground between
them being carefully cleared of weeds.

Human Sacrifices.—The last human sacrifice was offered at Mua 782
about eight years ago, on the occasion of the death of Fátu, the
chief of the place, to propitiate the god who they thought had 766
punished them by thus depriving them of their chief. It was
a boy, about eleven years of age, who was strangled with a piece
of tappa passed round his neck, and then drawn tightly by two
men, one of whom was his own father!

Finger Sacrifices.—Many of the natives have lost their little 782
fingers. These were formerly cut off by the parents of the children
as offerings to the gods, to obtain success in war, or to propi- 304
tiate them in cases of sickness.

Disease in Children.—The children when first born, and for 164
some time after, are very healthy, but invariably about a certain age break out into sores which spread all over the body. I have observed the same thing at Cape York, and some of the islands of Torres Straits, where the natives call it Badálli, and attribute it to the influence of the Mydállaga, or men who deal in charms, or to the ill wish of some secret enemy.

The Tabu.—Whatever might have been the mysterious nature 784
and origin of the tabu, it simply means now something forbidden.
A tent being set up near the beach for the purpose of affording
shelter to the men who were sent ashore to burn lime, and to con- 784
tain their clothes, provisions, and cooking utensils, the natural 609
curiosity of the natives made them rather troublesome, which being
observed by an old chief, he called them all out and placed the